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ART. I.—AMERICAN POETRY.

*Hymns and Sacred Pieces, with Miscellaneous Poems.* BY RAY PALMER. *New York: Anson D. F. Randolph.* 1865.

*Hymns of My Holy Hours.* BY RAY PALMER. *New York: Anson D. F. Randolph.* 1868.

*Christian Ballads.* BY THE RT. REV. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D., *with Corrections and Additions. Fifteenth Edition.* Philadelphia: Richard McCauley, 1314 Chestnut St. 1869.

*The Cathedral.* BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. *Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.* 1870.

POETRY, in a recent number of a popular American monthly, has, in all its various departments, been reduced to mere rhythmical history. Certainly such a limitation must be received with qualification. Hitherto definitions of the Divine Art have been so numerous and so unsatisfactory that it seems almost needless and presumptuous to discuss the subject. Macaulay once affirmed that Poetry originated in an absolute mental illusion, thus forever divorcing Beauty from Truth. Modern rationalists assert that the afflatus of the genius is identical with the inspiration of the Prophet. Can reason discover between such extremes no simple theory which

shall unwind this tangled skein of critical and philosophical generalization? We will only venture a few suggestions before proceeding to the principal subject of our Article.

Take a glowing description from the pages of one of Sir Walter Scott's novels, and retaining each image, so translate it that it shall fulfill every condition of rhythm and metre. Is the result Poetry? Evidently not. You have merely Prose in verse. All productions not springing from a certain state of ardent mental excitement, belong to the same category. Addresses on an assigned theme, and for a specified occasion, although obviously definable as rhythmical descriptions, yet are painfully deficient in every characteristic of genuine Poetry. What then is the peculiar intellectual condition which has been figuratively styled inspiration, and which is essential to that verse enshrining itself in the soul of humanity? This question, properly answered, may lead us at least to a clearer comprehension of a disputed subject.

Let us imagine that there is before the mind of the Poet a golden field, a wild cataract, a wide river, a sublime mountain, the illimitable ocean, the encircling sky, a deed of personal heroism, the engagement of a mighty battle—any scene from nature or event from history tending to stir the heart, or excite the fancy. Now there are two methods of impressing his conceptions on others. He may choose a cool and elaborate presentation of details, which, whether in the form of verse, or otherwise, is essentially Prose. Or, with the whole scene glowing before his imagination, he may by the instincts of genius, seize a few suggestive thoughts, and expressing them in rhythmical words, give his production the immortal impress of Poetry. Here then we perceive two necessary conditions. There must be the power to catch the characteristic idea, and the power to weave it into verse. It is this happy selection and happy expression, the joint results of genius and of culture, which give to Poetry its fire, its power, its concentration, its music, and lift it into a lofty region, styled in figure inspiration, and forever above the unimpassioned, and labored, and minute descriptions of Prose. And it is similar intellectual conditions and operations, which give to Oratory its glory, and beauty, and persuasiveness, and elevate it to a noble position far beyond the attainment of the speaker, who, without the gifts of delicate perception, exquisite language, and instinctive sympathy, presents us only with the elaboration and

dryness of detailed argumentation. The sisterhood of these immortal Arts, is also evinced by the fact that the one is allied to the voice in music, as the other is allied to the voice in elocution.

We might take our illustrations from a battle of Homer, an ode of Anacreon, a lyric of Pindar, a line of Horace, a description of Virgil. We might press into our service a picture from Dante, or Ariosto, or Tasso, or Petrarch. We might borrow from the pages of Milton, or Shakspeare, or Thomson, or Cowper, or Byron, or Scott, or Tennyson. Nothing could more entirely answer our purpose than the matchless "Forest Hymn," of our own Bryant, or the exquisite "Psalm of Life," by our own Longfellow. It better suits our plan, at present, to select from the works of those authors whose names introduce our Article.

Dr. Ray Palmer is a Congregational Divine. He possesses a thorough culture, a clear intellect, warm Christian affections, a sensibility more delicate than ardent, and a fancy more correct than soaring. A peculiar placidity pervades his Poems, resulting from a mind consciously and largely cultivated, and a heart at rest in the Saviour. They resemble a calm field bathed in the evening sunshine. You scarcely ever detect in them one instance of forced rhyme, or imperfect metre. Everywhere is visible the polish of a true taste. Dr. Palmer's Poems are mostly religious, and connect your heart with the great doctrines of Christianity which centre in the cross and throne of our Lord Jesus Christ. Each Hymn in the collections before us is pleasing, and musical, and edifying. But in only one single instance is the highest excellence attained, and thus affords an admirable illustration of the theory we have suggested. The Hymn to which we allude is one of the finest in the English language, and translated into numerous tongues, makes part of the worship of our world. The Christian lyric requires a certain serene glow, and calm elevation which pervade this exquisite production, while its music is all that the most critical ear can demand. Why has it taken its place in the consciousness and literature of Christendom? Not at all on account of the fire or originality of its thoughts. The whole secret is in the selection of that which most universally touches a chord in the pious heart, and its proper expression in rhythmical language.

But without pausing to quote from Dr. Palmer, we will pass to the Ballads of Bishop Coxe. We are at once struck with the tran-

sition. In the Congregational Divine we observe that genius of Calvinism, which, abstracting itself from the visible and the temporal, becomes absorbed in the universal and the eternal verities of the Christian Religion. There is no appeal except to your higher spiritual sensibilities. Your gaze is usually directed from earth to heaven. On the other hand, our Bishop Coxe glows and kindles in view of the visible Church. The font, the altar, the chancel, the window, the aisle, the spire, the cross, the surplice, the priest, the grave-yard, the bell, are all pictured in his song, which transports you at once into the domain of human thought and feeling. The Christian Ballad burns and palpitates with the fire and life of a Christian manhood. With occasional defects, and a censurable uniformity of metre, we know nothing in our language which could replace this volume of Bishop Coxe. It unites the simplicity and energy required by this style of composition, and seems almost a creation in its department of Christian Literature. Let us also show how completely it confirms the theory of our Article. Place a modern novelist on the shore of Lake George! He is in search of a description for a promised story. You can easily conceive his tiresome and tasteless delineation of the various objects which salute his eye, and if he should convert his common place into the most artistic verse, he would give you but tedious Prose. Now turn to the Poem in the volume of "Christian Ballads," entitled "St. Sacrament!" Select the fourth stanza!

"An hour—and though the even star  
Was chasing down the sun,  
My boat was on thine azure wave,  
Sweet, holy Horicon!  
And woman's voice cheered on our bark,  
With soft bewildering song,  
While fire-flies darting through the dark,  
Went lighting us along."

Here before the soul of the Poet was a vivid, glowing, inspiring picture of the entire scene! Where was evinced the genius of his description? Not in crowding all the images furnished to conception on his canvass, but by the delicacy of a true instinct, in choosing those which will suggest the whole to the imagination, and then by the music of his verse, making his thoughts tuneful for the ear, and impressive for the memory.

The three following verses contain many admirable illustrations



of what we have advanced, and indeed almost any stanza of the Poem might be adduced, not only in proof of a theory, but as an example of poetic creation, poetic fire, and poetic expression.

"Anon that bark was on the beach,  
And soon I stood alone  
Upon thy mouldering walls, Fort George,  
So old, and ivy-grown.  
At once old tales of massacre  
Were crowding on my soul,  
And ghosts of ancient sentinels,  
Paced up the rocky knoll.

"The shadowy hour was dark, enow  
For Fancy's wild campaign;  
And moments were impassioned hours  
Of battle and of pain.  
Each barbed thistle seemed alive  
With fearful shapes of fight;  
And up the feathered scalp locks rose,  
Of many a tawny sprite.

"The Mohawk war-whoop howled again;  
I heard St. Denys' charge;  
And then the volleyed musketry  
Of England and St. George.  
The vale, the cradling hills,  
From echoing rank to rank,  
Rang back the war-like rhetoric  
Of Huron and of Frank."

With such possibilities of the very highest attainment in the Christian Ballad as this volume evinces, we should regret that the genius of the author had not been consecrated to the Poetic Art, if we did not know that his powers have found a nobler field in the Holy Church, and that when the earthly laurel fades, the heavenly crown will be brightening in eternal light. Before, however, dismissing the book we cannot forbear quoting some other beautiful stanzas, in a more tender and pathetic vein. The first one taken from the Poem called "Church-yards."

"Our mother the Church hath never a child  
To honor before the rest,  
But she singeth the same for mighty kings  
And the veriest babe on her breast.  
And the Bishop goes down to his narrow bed  
As the ploughman's child is laid,  
And alike she blesseth the dark-brown serf  
And the chief in his robe arrayed."

"I never can see a green church-yard  
 But I think I may slumber there,  
 And I wonder within me what strange disease  
 Shall bring me to homes so fair."

"I know I may burn to ashes soon  
 With this feverish flame of life,  
 Or the flickering lamp may soon blaze out  
 With its dying self at strife."

"And here—I think—when they lay me down  
 How strange will my slumber be;  
 The cold, cold clay for my dreamless head,  
 And the turf for my canopy.  
 How stilly will creep the long, long years  
 O'er my quiet sleep away,  
 And, oh what a waking that sleep will know  
 At the peal of the Judgment-day."

From the Poem called "I LOVE THE CHURCH," we will give a single extract, containing as many sweet, tranquil, beautiful images as can be found in any verse of any Ballad, English or American.

"The dead in Christ—they rest in hope,  
 And o'er their sleep sublime,  
 The shadow of the steeple moves  
 From morn to vesper chime.  
 On every mound, in solemn shade,  
 Its imaged cross doth lie,  
 As goes the sunlight to the west,  
 Or rides the moon on high."

And now the aim of our Article compels us to consider the recent Poem of James Russell Lowell, called "THE CATHEDRAL." The fame of this writer is not perhaps more extensive than might be expected from his undoubted genius. His range of talent is wide, his culture is diversified, and his mind essentially creative. Perhaps no American author possesses higher natural gifts. "The Biglow Papers," sparkle with wit, and seem the very concentration and culmination of ages of New England humor and shrewdness. While venerating Shakspeare for his unrivalled delineations of character, we could never admire his plot, or enjoy his wit. Pope's satire while polished is deadly. Sir Walter Scott wakes the smile but rarely the laugh. Washington Irving with his exquisite delicacy of touch, excites pleasurably but gently your sense of the ludicrous. Dickens if often inimitable is often monotonous. But Lowell has such an exhaustless wealth of fun, shows such shrewd

observation of our national character, exhibits such a thorough penetration into New England peculiarities, displays such an admirable acquaintance with the human heart, glitters with such a sparkling brilliance of wit, and yet evinces such genial sympathies with his race, and such a sturdy opposition to wrong, that read his humorous pieces when you will, in the solitude of your room, or in the circle of your family, you may always experience the joy, and the benefit of refreshing laughter, while, notwithstanding the vulgarity of the style, you are elevated into a greater love for truth, and right. His strength, and fame are in the very productions which he himself is perhaps inclined to undervalue, and despise. There is indeed not a Poem of Mr. Lowell's which does not abound in striking thoughts, in pleasing sentiments, and beautiful imagery. He has large sympathies with man and nature, and no American Poet has superior general talents. Yet in all his serious verses you perceive so many defects marring so many excellencies, crudities and beauties so often allied, bad taste and exquisite sensibility in such frequent conjunction, that, either from carelessness or idiosyncrasy, you feel that the author in the highest departments of his Art has in no instance reached its highest standard. Mr. Lowell in this sense is a Poet rather in possibility than achievement, and all his worst faults are concentrated, and exaggerated in his "Cathedral." It seldom evinces either the insight, or the expression of genius. Take the first two lines as furnishing proof of our assertion. Think of "a happy-day" "*downshod*." Mr. Lowell might transfer such an incongruity to his "Fable for Critics." What imaginable sense in these lines?

"As to a bee the new campanula's  
*Illuminate seclusion swung in air.*"

Seclusion illuminated! Seclusion swung! Seclusion apprehended by a bee! Other violations of taste, and metre are too numerous for mention. With a venerable Cathedral in every part—pavement, pillar, window, altar, organ, spire breathing, and speaking with genius—lifting itself to the skies through the centuries as for a monument to the faith—associated with so many of the hopes, and fears of humanity—a temple of earth pointing towards Heaven—so full of awe, and solemnity, and grandeur—refining, purifying, exalting the contemplative soul—with such an edifice we could scarcely expect a Poet having true instincts could con-

nect the vulgar, and the common-place. Such a fault or such a theme is even more censurable than anything in the "New England Tragedies." Yet we find in the "Cathedral" these lines certainly revolting to good taste, and a departure from the whole genius of such a Poem.

"In this brown-fisted, rough, this shirt-sleeved Cid,  
This backwoods Charlemagne of empires new,  
Whose blundering foot instinctively finds out  
The goutier foot of speechless dignities,  
Who meeting Cæsar's self, would slap his back,  
Call him 'Old Horse' and challenge to a drink,  
My lungs draw braver air, my breast dilates  
With ampler manhood."

We are at a loss to conceive whether the brown-fist, the shirt-sleeve, the slap, the title, or the cup here inspires Mr. Lowell with such swelling, and noble sentiments.

But we must hasten to a sadder view of this Poem. The verse of Dr. Palmer everywhere exhibits the serene glow of an immortal Christian hope. He sings a present Saviour. He kindles with visions of Heaven. Peace, love, triumph breathe and burn, and burst when he touches the harp. His hymn on the "JOY OF CONSECRATION TO CHRIST" is full of cheerfulness, and praise.

"Oh, sweetly breathes the lyre above  
When angels touch the quivering string,  
And wake, to chant Immanuel's love,  
Such strains as angels' lips can sing.

"Jesus, Thy name our souls adore.  
We own the bond that makes us Thine,  
And carnal joys that charmed before,  
For Thy dear sake we now resign.

"In Thee we trust—on Thee rely;  
Though we are feeble, Thou art strong;  
Oh, keep us till our spirits fly  
To join the bright immortal throng."

So also the "CHRISTIAN BALLADS," are constantly sounding exultant notes of hope, and faith, and victory. The Poet breaks forth:

"I love the Church—the holy Church,  
The Saviour's spotless Bride;  
And Oh, I love her palaces  
Through all the land so wide;  
The cross-topped spire amid the trees,  
The holy bell of prayer,  
The music of our mother's voice,  
Our mother's home is there.

"The village tower—'tis joy to me;  
 I cry the Lord is here!  
 The village-bells—they fill my soul,  
 They more than fill mine ear.  
 O'er kingdoms to the Saviour won  
 Their triumph peal is hurl'd;  
 Their sound is now in all the earth;  
 Their words throughout the world."

But in the "Cathedral" of Mr. Lowell, we discover no such inspirations. A skepticism pervades the latter part of the Poem, cold as the walls, and gloomy as the aisles of the venerable pile he describes. It is the paralyzing and distracting *doubt* ever present to the soul, which is not cheered, and penetrated by beams from the face of a present Saviour, received, and trusted, and loved, and adored as Divine. We may notice here the marks of a Unitarian Theology traced unconsciously on a gifted spirit, which beneath those brilliant flashes of wit, delighting the world, yet discloses the shadows of sadness that darken every high intellectual nature not possessing rest, and hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, believed, and worshiped as God. The conclusion of the Poem, evidently only recognizing a Deity in nature, and intended to cast contempt on the supernatural of Revelation, shows in the soul of the writer an attempted persuasiveness to a faith consciously not enjoyed.

"Oh Power, more near than life itself,—  
 Even as the roots shut in the darksome earth,  
 Share in the tree-top's fragrance, and conceive  
 Of sunshine, and wide air, and wing'd things,  
 By sympathy of nature, so do I  
 Have evidence of Thee so far above,  
 Yet in, and of me!—Rather thou the root  
 Invisibly sustaining, hid in light—  
 I fear not Thy withdrawal; more I fear,  
 Seeing to know Thee not, hoodwinked with dreams  
 Of signs, and wonders, while, unnoticed, Thou,  
 Walking Thy garden still, commun'st with men,  
 Missed in the common-place of miracle."

The last line contains in itself sad proof of that genius of modern skepticism which everywhere assaults the supernatural of the Scriptures.

Having accomplished our object in considering together the Poems of Dr. Palmer, Bishop Coxe, and Mr. Lowell, we wish to conclude our Article with some more general reflections on AMERI-

CAN POETRY. But we will briefly turn back to the past before glancing down the future. As in the individual the gifts of insight, and expression must unite to produce supreme excellence in the Divine Art, so that epoch in a nation's history must most develop its poetic genius which exhibits the most vivid possible intensity with the most advanced possible culture. This is that precise point in the intellectual progress of a people which lies between the excessive wildness of youth, and the exacting maturity of age. It is the summit commanding the wide, varied glowing landscape, and dividing the region of Creative Art from the region of philosophical observation. On the one side of this favored altitude imagination is vigorous at the expense of culture, while on the other side culture has advanced at the expense of imagination. The extreme of fresh fancy is however more favorable to Poetry than the extreme of polished reason. The Book of Job—that most ancient of human compositions—is an example of this remark. In the age of the writer style had a sufficient, yet not its highest development. But the imagination of that youthful period glowed with a most intense ardor, and language had attained a capacity adequate to paint its vivid images. The very problems of Providence which are now discussed deliberately in the essay, and the sermon were then clothed with all the hues of fancy, and depicted in the Poem. Sublimity, not style reached its acme. The voice of the Almighty in the whirlwind, awing Job into nothingness by demanding explanation of the secrets of the universe, wakes in the soul such conceptions of terror, and power, and majesty as can never be exceeded. But so far as the perfection of mere style is considered, this was reserved for the later age of David, which exhibited all that was requisite for the loftiest acquirements of poetic art. The miracles of Egypt, and the Red Sea, and the wilderness were yet fresh in the national mind. The more cultivated manners of the city, and the more stately worship of the temple had not produced the effects visible in the reign of Solomon. Yet, while the perilous personal adventures of David, together with the marvels of Jewish history, conspired to invigorate, and vivify the song of the Master-Bard, everything in the Hebrew language was prepared for his mission. Poetic genius, and Poetic culture therefore culminated to Poetic Art in the verse of David. Then followed the more self-conscious, and labored, and philosophical career of Solomon, and after various phases through the prophetic ages.

there succeeded the cold dogmatisms of Scribe and Pharisee which finally chilled, and quenched the inspirations of Israel, considered in their merely human aspect.

Profoundly ignorant as we are of the previous preparatory discipline of the Grecian races in mind and language, we must recognize in Homer the most favorable conditions of Poetic development. He bursts upon us in all the fulness of his epic glory. Afterwards, during generations, from Athens as a center, issued the divinest radiance of song. The genius of the people, their fancied origin from gods, the scenery of the peninsula, the charm of the encircling sea, the images of a beautiful mythology, the struggles for liberty of small states against vast oriental dynasties, the inspiring contests of the sacred games, all contributed to prolong the period of fresh native vigor, while the matchless richness of a tuneful tongue also kept back the age of chilling, philosophical and critical disquisition, when scholars sighed amid the groves of the Academy, the statues of the Agora, and the marvels of the Parthenon for that epoch of creative art which they could investigate and admire, but never produce. Rome, catching inspiration from Greece, saw, springing from the enterprise which made a world tributary to the Empire of Augustus, those elements which formed a brilliant poetic history. Too soon, however, the labor of study dimmed the glow of song. Then for the Epic of Virgil, and the Lyric of Horace we have the dissertation of Seneca, and the generalization of Tacitus.

In England we can trace similar periodic phases. First come the Saxon terseness, simplicity and dramatic energy. Genius has sufficient strength but not sufficient culture. Fancy was creative long before language was prepared to give it form. Soon the treasures of Greece and Rome enlarged, and enriched the native vocabulary. The contests of the Church, the fierce fights of faction, the battles by sea and land with the continental nations, the terrible struggles of the Reformation in every part of Europe, brilliant visions opened by the discovery of an illimitable world, brightened and intensified the English mind, perpetuating its youthful vigor and ardor. The language of the people too was constantly advancing to perfection. Thus Shakespeare and Milton—the two masters of modern poetry—found in the intellectual atmosphere of their nation and their age everything which



could give inspiration to their genius, while in the strength of the Saxon, the harmoniousness of the Greek, and the majesty of the Latin, mingled and fused into one compacted tongue, were ready the necessary and varied elements for expressing feeling, and passion, and thought. In the subsequent periods of English Literature from the powerful verse of Dryden to the pleasing lines of Tennyson, we can mark successive epochs, when, as the creative, or the critical faculty predominates, we estimate the character of the different poetic schools and eras. Perhaps it may not be rash to venture the prediction that the Empire of Great Britain, so noble in its achievements for liberty and literature, has, both in sway and song, passed the meridian.

What then is the poetic future of America? We will restrict the inquiry to our own Republic.

Our heritage as a nation was the world's past. There was danger that creative genius would be stifled and oppressed by the very richness of its privileges. Perhaps never before did the life of a people begin with such intellectual advantages. The finest culture of English universities was not unfrequently transferred to the forests of America. The most courtly gentlemen and the most polished ladies were found in the cabins of this wild continent. Libraries under rude roofs exhibited the classic treasures of Greece, and Rome, and Britain. Homer and Demosthenes were studied in chimney-corners by the blaze of winter logs. Cicero and Virgil were read where the oration in the Capitol, or the description of burning Troy might be interrupted by the bound of the deer, or the yell of the savage. Shakspeare and Milton were recited beneath the shadows of trees which had for centuries stood amid the silence of the primeval forests. The sons of wealthy colonists often brought from the halls of universities and the drawing-rooms of London the discipline and the manners of the most refined society. Yet such were the struggles of life in subduing this young world from the wildness of nature and the dominion of the Indian, that there was little opportunity or incentive for poetic creation. You perceive in essays, sermons, addresses, histories, biographies, verses, the traces of a painful imitation. It is a remarkable fact that in the early productions of this infant people there were more evidences of mature culture than native vigor. The works of Divines before the revolution, and Statesmen after the revolution, are

often characterized by as much elegance of style, and refinement of thought as those of the parent country. Our state of colonial vassalage is stamped on the entire literature of the period. Never did men become more bold and original in what pertained to war and government, and never were men more tame and imitative in what pertained to style and manners. Usually the development in letters is from excessive vigor to excessive culture. In our own country the law has almost been reversed. Had not the Revolution severed us from dependence on England, we would have displayed no more creative talent in the department of Poetry than is promised by Canada or Australia. The genius of song was weighed down by the magnitude of its treasures inherited from the whole past of the world. The struggles which gave us freedom, and the difficulties conquered in establishing our marvelous constitution soon gave fire and originality to the national mind. The vivid, and delicate, and versatile Irving afforded the first decided tokens of high literary gifts, and although his fancies were expressed in Prose, he was really our pioneer in Poetry. Bryant and Longfellow, by success in their respective spheres have demonstrated that the Muse in our Republic will rule sovereign in her own domain, and eventually win in this Western world a crown brilliant with native beauty, whose lustre will rival the glory of the Orient. And there is certainly every reason to believe that the period of poetic vigor will be greatly prolonged. There is indeed much that is practical and prosaic to extinguish the fire of originating genius. The material conquests of steam, and electricity are not favorable to sensibility and fancy. The exactitudes of science restrain the flights of the imagination. The artificial demands of society may too often convert the gifted genius into the drudging slave. The increasing bribery and corruption, and selfishness of our age are blighting like a pestilence. Yet, on the other hand, the day of our senility is evidently far distant. Our Republic glows with all the hope of youth. A vast territory excites boundless aspirations. Varied scenery furnishes fancy with the most diversified images. Commercial, and social, and political connection with all the nations of the world imparts largeness to our views, and not only preserves from stagnation, but is a perpetual source of vivacity and inspiration. Our language, too vigorous to lose its own idiosyncrasy, will be enriched from the vocabularies

of the world. Besides, what infinite variety will be contributed by this fusion of thought inevitable amid the representatives of so many commingling nations! What a wealth of imagery and association is constantly imported from the literature, the philosophy, the mythology, the history, the art, the manners, the customs of immigrants who crowd our shores from almost every region of Africa, and Asia, and Europe! Such contacts are sufficient to produce the perennial freshness of youth. That American aspiration too, often indeed exaggerated, and grotesque, and disgusting, which would conform to our constitution all the governments of the world, and on the ruins of thrones erect a universal Republic, will forever stimulate American energy, and animate American intellect. Our territory also is so vast that the corrupt, and artificial life of cities can never enervate as in the smaller countries of Europe, where the vices of the Capital infect the most distant regions of the Kingdom. No period can arise in our history when genius cannot be educated amid the repose and purity of varied scenes of natural beauty and sublimity, while the universal diffusion of education may give an equal advantage to the Poet who sings amid the grandeur of the Rocky Mountains, and to the Poet who touches his lyre where the sail-covered Hudson mingles with the sea. Considering then the inspiration of our history, the achievements of our past, the vastness of our territory, the richness of our language, the varieties of our population, the charms of our scenery, the nobility of our mission, the largeness of our aspiration, we may predict in the future a wealth of national Poetry, which will be marked by the highest creative power, and correspond to the endowments of our national genius, and the glory of our national destiny.

Perhaps we may not be deemed tedious if we conclude our Article with another suggestion. The heroism of Grecian history, and the imagery of Grecian mythology could not so perpetuate the inspiration of Homer, as to make his second Epic glow with the charms and burn with the ardors of the first. The *Iliad* resembles the lyre of Apollo struck amid meridian brilliance. The *Odyssey* suggests a feebler note sounding from the god, as day's dying glory sank into the sea. On the contrary Milton's earlier songs give little promise of his subsequent greatness. Often they are insufferably and freezingly classical. They indeed exhibit a mar-

velous wealth of imagination. Yet even the *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, filled with all images of joy and melancholy, and tuneful as a harp of heaven, seem rather the results of studied art, than the outbursts of a resistless inspiration. But suddenly we perceive in the "*Paradise Lost*" visions of unequaled sublimity and majesty. The Poet seems transported into a higher world. His blindness becomes his illumination. But why are the fires of his age brighter than those of his youth? It is because his theme, drawn from his Religion, wide as the universe, and great as eternity, stirs in him thoughts pure, and bright, and vast like those which kindle angels. No heathen mythology could ever have poured such brilliance over his darkness. Christianity was his inspiration. Here was the secret of his fervor, his largeness, his glory. And thus as we expect our Holy Religion will preserve in our Republic that life which perished amid the corruptions of idolatrous empires, so we may hope that in the latter days of its diffusion and triumph, it will illuminate and transfigure our national Poetry, until our millennial song shall evince the noblest achievement of human genius, and distant centuries, perpetually youthful, shine with the crowning brightness of our world.

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#### ART. II.—THE ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY OF PLATO.

THE Ethics of Plato are not merely an incidental accompaniment of his Philosophy, or even a subordinate department of it, but the real aim and inspiration of his whole system.

Whatever be the subject he may have in hand, whether the individual man, the state, or the physical creation, it is always presented from some point of view depending on its ethical relations. His Ontology, Theology, Psychology, Cosmogony and Politics are every where regarded as deriving their chief importance from their connection with the moral nature of man, and the use which can be made of them in giving him right conceptions of virtue, and leading him to the love and practice of a life of virtue.

This is, in fact, the atmosphere in which all his thinking "lives and moves and has its being;" it gives the spirit in which every question is to be approached, and with reference to which it is to be

decided; and even in many of the dialogues where it is not definitely named, it so pervades and shapes all the discussion, that only in the ethical connection of his system can we find the key by which to understand their meaning, or explain their form.

We may convey a partial idea of this pre-eminence of the ethical in the Philosophy of Plato, by citing some of the almost innumerable expressions in which he asserts his convictions of the paramount necessity, and excellence of virtue.

"The whole of our laws ought always to look to one point, and this may be correctly called virtue." v. 536. "The good rhetorician addresses the arguments he uses, and all his actions to souls, directing his attention to this, that every virtue may be planted in them, but vice driven out." i. 207. "When any one honors beauty before virtue this is truly and wholly a dishonor to the soul." v. 154. "Virtue is a kind of health, beauty and good habit of the soul, and vice its disease, deformity and infirmity." ii. 130. "All things should be done for the sake of what is good." i. 201. "O ye Gods grant me to become beautiful in the inner man." i. 360. "So long as the soul is depraved, as being without understanding, intemperate, unjust, and unholy, one ought to restrain it from the indulgence of its desires, and not permit it to do anything except what will render it better." i. 207. "It is no advantage to confer any benefit upon the city or the citizens unless the mind of those who are about to receive either great riches or dominion or any other power be upright and good." i. 217. "If you would manage the affairs of a State rightly, and well, you must impart to the citizens virtue, and you must therefore in the first place, acquire virtue yourself." iv. 369. "States, then, are not in want of walls, or ships, or docks, if they would be happy, nor even of a multitude of people, or extent of country, without the possession of virtue." iv. 368. "The most base of all evils is injustice, in a word, the depravity of the soul." i. 173. "And depravity of the soul is the most base of all because it exceeds all the others by some extraordinarily great harm and wonderful evil." i. 174. "The greatest of all the punishments for evil conduct is the becoming similar to bad men." v. 155. "And to go to Hades with a soul full of crimes is the worst of evils." i. 227.

These, and many other like passages testify, unmistakably, to the high place which Ethics held in the mind of Plato, and no man has ever announced this in more varied and unquestionable terms. And what is thus expressed in definite assertions, is also abundantly illustrated in the arguments, or implied conclusions of many of the Dialogues. In *Gorgias* he contends that the essential question about everything men seek to be or do, is, whether it will make the man more pure in soul and better in his life. The theory of *Protagoras* is tested by its relation to the acquirement of a virtu-

ous character. Philœbus is a demonstration that pleasure is nothing but an evil, and a curse, if separated from the good. Phædrus, in its glowing pictures, represents the true aim of the soul as the desire to live in contemplation of the perfections of the Deity. The Republic enters upon the study of good and evil in the State, that by a knowledge of them on this larger scale, we may the more easily learn their nature in the individual. In the first Alcibiades he leads that brilliant but ill-regulated young Athenian to the confession, that any attempt at true statesmanship without a knowledge of the best, and a life of virtue, is an absurdity, and the *second* Alcibiades shows that a man is not able even to pray rightly unto God unless he have "a knowledge of the best," by which alone he can know how he ought to live, and what to ask for.

And so in various lines of thought, the themes of many others of the Dialogues are either questions involving the fundamental principles of Ethics, or inquiries into the relation and application of these to different spheres of actual life, or the correction of erroneous modes of thinking. But conclusive as this constant reference to virtue is as to the importance that Plato attached to it in all his reasoning and teaching, we cannot gain from even this an adequate conception of the true relations of the ethical to the essential idea of his Philosophy. These we can rightly understand only when we have first comprehended this essential idea, and traced out its connection with the spirit and structure of his entire system, for it is in the fundamental principles which underlie and pervade his Philosophy as a whole, that we learn its vital relation to Ethics, far more than any, or all the specific dicta he has pronounced about virtue in general, or any of the questions connected with the conduct of life: and, indeed, all these are only necessary inferences from the essential conceptions of his system, and lose their full meaning, and profoundest significance, if not understood in their relations to this system.

But though there is thus, as we think, such a close and indissoluble connection between his Ethics and the constructive ideas of his Philosophy, that this Philosophy is, in fact, all one great scheme of Ethics, yet this is made comparatively much less prominent by most of his commentators than it deserves; indeed some of them seem almost to deny that he had any definite, and consistent



thought, thus binding his Philosophy into a coherent system, and hence make no attempt to represent its various elements in living unity as parts of a symmetrical and profoundly elaborated whole: and thus both miss the real purpose of many of the discussions, and fail to apprehend the mind of Plato in that sublime conception of Philosophy which is his distinctive and unrivalled excellence.

It is indeed true that he has nowhere presented his system as a whole, and in one view, either from its ethical aim, or its ontological assumptions. It is given in no one dialogue, nor in any definitely related series of them; and it is only by studying closely, and in connection, the whole body of his writings, that we can be in a position to trace out his entire scheme of thought; for every discussion—even those the most seemingly inconclusive—contributes something towards its full comprehension; some doing this by direct assertion, or implied inference from his fundamental truths, and others by distinctive criticism on some opposing error.

And on the other hand, while his theory is nowhere definitely elaborated, it, yet so underlies all that he says, and everything he discusses, that much which he has written is almost wholly unintelligible without reference to it, and when once clearly apprehended, it will be found so to pervade every portion of his writings that it gives them all one tone and character, as the melody of a tune runs through, and gives its spirit to every part of its most elaborate and seemingly unconnected variations.

The starting point for a clear apprehension of Plato's Philosophy, and its relation to Ethics, is a correct understanding of his conception of KNOWLEDGE, or SCIENCE, and the CONNECTION OF KNOWLEDGE WITH VIRTUE. Whatever virtue may be, it is in his mind, so connected with knowledge or science, that *whoever has not true science or knowledge has not virtue*, and the *soul which does have true knowledge, or science, cannot but be possessed of virtue*.

"True virtue subsists with wisdom, whether pleasures, and fears, and everything else of the kind is present or absent; but when separated from wisdom, consider whether such virtue is not a mere outline, and in reality servile, possessing neither soundness nor truth." i. 68. "Wisdom is the virtue of the soul." iv. 366. "The sensible and just are such as *know* what is meet to do, and say both towards gods and men." iv. 396. "Virtue appears to be altogether knowledge." i. 293.



And what is thus directly stated, is also evidenced in the general tenor of the thought and argument in quite a number of the Dialogues, in which, although the proposition is not definitely stated, the manifest conclusion is, that true knowledge is so essential to all right living, and correct thinking that neither of them is possible without the others; and conversely that he who really has attained to either, must necessarily be possessor of them all.

Of the fact and importance of this connection in the mind of Plato there is no question, but to understand its nature, and the relation it has to the ethical character of his Philosophy, we must apprehend clearly, and always hold fast the notion which he had of knowledge, and the position he assigned it in the soul of man.

This differs very widely from the conception we now have of knowledge: and this difference concerned both, I. the MATERIAL OF KNOWLEDGE, and II. THE MENTAL RELATION WHICH CONSTITUTES KNOWING.

I. With us, knowledge is an acquaintance with any sort of facts or opinions; and science is the reduction of our knowledge on any subject to the general principles by which its facts are united into a system. But with Plato, knowledge or science was only possible of things which have a real and enduring truth and being, of essential and unchangeable existence and verities. If things have no essential being, no abiding certainty which makes them always the same, and always true, we cannot predicate any actual knowledge of them; for just as we think to grasp them, they are changed or vanished. Real knowledge must deal with realities eternal and essential, universal and necessary: nothing else can properly be called knowledge.

"What really is, may be known; and the nature of science is to regard that which exists, and to know what existence is." ii. 165. "The true lover of learning is naturally inclined to aspire after the knowledge of real being, and when he approaches thus far and mingles therewith, thus giving rise to intellect and truth, he will attain to true knowledge." ii. 176. "Those who contemplate many beautiful things, but never perceive beauty itself, and many just things, though not justice itself, and all other things in like manner, they have no accurate knowledge." ii. 176. "When the soul examines anything by itself, and approaches to that which is pure, eternal, immortal and unchangeable, and, as being allied to it continues constantly with it, this affection of the soul is called wisdom." i. 182."

But where shall the soul find these unchanging verities? Where is this true being, this essentially real?

The only things in which Plato recognizes these qualities, are those which are inherent in the nature, or express the unchangeable thoughts or attributes of the one only true being, which is the divine soul, the supreme, all-perfect, unalterable God;—and this is so, because the essential nature of the Divine existence is such that it embraces in itself everything that is real, true, and good, and perfect; and hence whatever has reality, or truth, or goodness, must have its being in him, or be the expression of something derived from him.

The general characteristics of this perfect existence are stated thus:

"We shall not easily be persuaded that motion, life, soul and prudence are not truly present to that which is existing in perfection, and that it neither lives, nor thinks, but stands immovable not possessing intellect, as an object of respect and holy." iii. 153.

And what is here referred to as "Existing in perfection," is elsewhere identified with the supreme, unchanging intellect of the universe—the artificer of all that is produced—the essential, though incomprehensible source and communicator of all good, the governor and Lord of men, and when spoken of by name or title, is called "The Deity" or "God," and this deity is not merely one of the mythological divinities, but is called "God," in the sense to which Cudworth refers, (Vol. i. p. 429,) when he says "*ὁ Θεός* and *Θεός* are often taken by the Greeks not for *Θεῶν τις* "a god," or "one of the gods," but for "God or the Supreme Deity," "the one archetypal mind, the demiurge or maker of all things that are produced." Nor is it to be understood as only a name standing for a bare ontological abstraction without personality and will, or a blind plastic law of nature, working by some necessary and inherent principle of development towards inevitable but unforeseen results, but he is an all-powerful reasoning intellect, acting upon known rational and moral attributes, with conscious purpose, and for the highest good of all his universe.

We cannot, it is true, penetrate into his essential Being; for,

"To discover the Creator and Father of this Universe, as well as His work is difficult, and when discovered, it is impossible to reveal Him to mankind at large." v. 332.

But we may know sufficient of His attributes and works to understand the nature of His connection with the Universe, and ourselves.

"Whatever is generated has a cause, and this Universe as being generated must have a cause, and this was an Artificer, who made it according to an eternal and beautiful pattern." ii. 332. "The cause of all things is Soul, which is the most ancient of all things, and the commencement of motion, and leads everything in Heaven, and on Earth, and in the Sea, by its movements, the names of which are to will, to consider, to take care of, to consult, to form opinions, true and false, to be in a state of joy, sorrow, confidence, fear, hate, and love," v. 426; but "a beginning is uncreated, and hence the beginning of motion is uncreated, neither can it perish; and this is the essence of Soul, to be both uncreated and immortal," i. 321, "and the genus of Soul intellectual and full of virtue, has a power over Heaven, and Earth, and the most excellent Soul takes care of the whole world, and leads it along a Path" (v. 427,) "for Mind is the King of Heaven and Earth; and a certain wonderful Intellect disposes all things in order, arranges things together, and governs throughout." (iv. 38.) "And as regards the King of All, all things are His, and for His sake, and He is the Cause of all that is beautiful." (iv. 482.) "The world was created through the Providence of the Deity," ii. 334, "and the Universe was produced after the intelligence of the eternal Deity had conceived its form," ii. 337, "and He made everything which springs from the Earth, and all sorts of animals, and also the earth, the heaven, the gods, and all things in heaven, and in Hades under the Earth." ii. 285.

From Him were generated all the Visible and Inferior gods; and He addresses them as

"Gods which are the progeny of Gods, of whom I am the Creator and Father."

And certain parts of the Creation, and care of the world are given to their charge, but only as the responsible and delegated agents of the Potential Author, the Supreme Deity.

"For the Creator, Himself, being the Artificer of Divine Natures, committed to His offspring (the Junior gods) the charge of producing those that are mortal," ii. 380; "and after arranging these particulars, He retired to his accustomed State, and His Sons obeyed their Father's order." ii. 347.

So that while the immediate guidance of the world is entrusted to the lower gods, its real care and government are maintained by the One essential Deity;

"For it is God who takes care of us, and we are His property," i. 60. "And by Him who takes care of the Universe with a view to the safety and excellence of the whole, everything has been arranged, each part of which, as far as possible, suffers, and acts what is suited to it," v. 440.

And this framing Artificer and All-Controlling Deity is good.

"For God is good essentially, and the cause of all those things which are in a right state," ii. 60; "And He desired that all things should, as much as possible, resemble Himself, and that as far as possible all things should be good." ii. 334.

What the Good is in itself, is too high for present inquiry; but we may grasp something of its results, what He calls its Offspring—for

"In the subjects of human knowledge the Idea of the Good is the last object of vision, and hard to be seen; and when beheld, it must be inferred from reason to be the cause of what is right and beautiful in all things." ii. 202. "Higher than Justice and other virtues, is 'the Idea of the Good,' the highest branch of study; about which, when Justice and the other virtues employ themselves, they then become useful and advantageous; and without this knowledge, though we were to understand everything else as fully as possible, yet it could be of no service," ii. 193; because "That which imparts truth to what is known, and dispenses the faculty of knowledge to Him who knows, you may call 'the Idea of the Good,' and the principle of Science and truth; and as both knowledge and truth are so beautiful, you are right to think that 'the Good' is something still more beautiful and different from these; and as Sight and Light are both Sun-like, yet we do not think them to be the Sun, so Science and Truth, both of them partake of the nature of the Good, yet we have no right to suppose that either of them is the Good, inasmuch as the Good itself is worthy of still greater honor; for things cognizable by the Intellect, become cognizable not only from the Good by which they are known; but, likewise, their being and essence are thence derived, while the Good itself is not essence, but beyond essence, and superior to both in dignity and power." ii. 198.

Such a conception of the Good necessitates the admission of Grote (1 Grote's Plato, iii., 25,) that

"Good, in the mind of Plato, is associated exclusively with rational agency; it can be produced only by a Reason, or by some Personal Agent, analogous to a reasonable, intelligent man."

And as the good of all the Universe is from the One Idea and all things were created after the Same One Pattern,

"There are not some two Deities;" but "One archetypal mind, the Paradigm of all created things." ii. 335. And this "Deity is the same in every respect forever," iii. 544, for "God is quite simple and true, both in word and deed. Neither is He changed Himself, nor does He deceive others." ii. 64.

Such being the nature of the One Only real Being, His thoughts and attributes express themselves in certain "Intellectual Forms,"

which are essentially true, good, and unchangeable, because they are of and from His Essence; and these Intellectual Forms of the Divine Existence, Plato calls IDEAS. As Alcinous says:

"The Deity has thoughts, and since the Primary Mind is the most beautiful of things, it would be forever thinking on itself and its own cogitations, and this, its mental energy, is Idea, for Ideas are the notions of God, eternal and perfect in themselves." vi. 262-264.

Now it was after these eternal expressions of His own nature and cogitations that God framed the Universe.

"He looked on them as an eternal pattern," ii. 333, as "A species of model, apprehensible by the Intellect, and always the same, and the Universe is an imitation of the model, generated and visible." ii. 354. "And is framed by impressing it with forms corresponding to the nature of its pattern." ii. 343. "Hence, we must lay down some one Idea respecting everything, and on every occasion seek for it." iv. 15. "In the same manner," says Alcinous, "As from one Seal there are many impressions," so we "Suppose a certain Idea relating to many individuals to which we give the same name." ii. 285.

And this is true, both of the attributes of the soul, and of material things. There is for each a Form or Idea in the Divine mind, after which it was framed, and which it should as far as possible resemble: and these Ideas as being the eternal Forms of the Divine thought, are not concrete, and separate existences, to be perceived apart from their essential being in the Divine mind, but thoughts and attributes of God, which are

"To be apprehended only by the Intellect, and not perceptible by the senses." ii. 358. Hence, "There is a certain abstract beauty, and goodness, and magnitude, and so of all the others." i. 166. "And these things, which continue forever the same, you cannot apprehend in any other way than by thought; for such things are invisible, and are not seen." i. 81. "Hence, if anything is beautiful, nothing causes it to be beautiful, except the presence or communication of that abstract beauty; and I say the same of everything." i. 107. "For while there are many beautiful things, there is only one Beautiful, one Just, and so of the rest." ii. 166.

And so also of the Material things, Grote says, (1 Grote's Plato, iii., 267.)

"We must assume the Forms or Ideas of Fire, Air, Earth, Water, &c., as distinct and self-existent, eternal, indestructible, unchangeable; neither visible nor tangible; but apprehended by Reason or Intellect."

It is to these *Ideas* we are referred by Plato as the *only valid material of real knowledge*. They are entities, existing in and from the Divine; and there is no true existence, entity, τὸ ὄν, but in these Divine expressions of its own nature and thought. They are not concrete, sensible individualities; but the attributes and archetypal thoughts of the Divine soul, which have an essential being and reality in the Divine Intellect, as modi of its existence; we may, perhaps, best liken them to the mode in which the feelings and Images of our dreams—(if these were actual expressions of our nature, and remained, as fixed, unchanging conditions of our thought)—have their existence in our mind. What we thus see and feel, have their existence only in and from the mind, and can be perceived only by the Intellect; but at the same time they have a kind of being and reality which makes them actual existences; and of such a nature, that they are both wholly in the mind, and yet in some sense distinct from it; and if another mind, by Mental Intuition, could perceive and thus participate in them, we should in this have an analogy, rude perhaps, and yet approximate to the relation which Plato conceived between the human Intellect and the Divine Ideas. But these Ideas are not mere inert concepts, or inoperative thoughts, they are the models after which the Deity is always *striving* to mould and organize the Material Universe, and the qualities impressed upon man's moral nature in its origin, which all men should endeavor to discern and realize. And, hence, if we are really to *know* anything about the true nature of either the Physical Creation, or the moral qualities of man, it must be by a knowledge of the Divine reality, Idea, which is the pattern they were intended to resemble, and the test by which they must be tried. Whatever thinking is not based on this, is only opinion; it may be true opinion, or false opinion, but it is not knowledge; for this cannot be where there is not the expression of unchanging reality and truth for its material. Whoever does not know what God intended anything to be, cannot, in fact, know what its real nature is; whoever does not realize what God thinks about the Good, the Just, the Beautiful, in itself cannot judge anything with certainty about the goodness, justice, beauty, or any other moral quality of man's Character or Life.

The Soul to have true knowledge, must, therefore, have been in direct communication with these Divine Conceptions and Exem-

plars; must have had spiritual vision of them; and as this cannot be in our present state, because the Intellect is blinded, and marred by its imprisonment in the body, Plato assumes that the Soul had an existence in the region of Pure Intellect before it fell into the lower world, and was united to the body; and in this previous existence it had an intuition, a mental Sight of the Divine Ideas; and in this beatific vision saw for itself those perfect and unchanging Images of what was indeed essential, because Divine reality and truth. This is expressed very beautifully in a sort of allegory in the *Phædrus*.

"In the lofty regions where the race of the gods dwell, the Mighty Chief in Heaven, Zeus, goes first, driving a winged chariot, ordering and taking care of all things; and there follows him a host of gods and demons; but there are many delightful sights, and paths within the heavens, among which the blessed gods move; and whoso has both will, and power, accompanies them; for envy stands aloof from the Heavenly Choir; and during this circuit the soul beholds Justice herself, it beholds Science, it beholds Temperance; not that to which Creation is annexed, but that which is Science, in what really is; and when it sees that which really is, it is delighted; and by contemplating, the Truth is nourished, and thrives; and every soul of man has, from its very nature, seen true existences: but the Essence which really exists, colorless, formless and intangible, is visible only to Intelligence; and around Essence is the place of true Science."

And hence, as such are the only objects and conditions upon which true knowledge is possible; there can be no proper science based on the mere perceptions of the senses, or the conventional opinions about life and conduct: for these are in their very nature changing, imperfect, and without essential existence in themselves; and, therefore, they are considered by Plato as "non-entities"—*τὰ μὴ ὄντα*: not that they literally "are not;" but that they have only a transient, phenomenal relation to us, and not essential, inherent verity and being; and hence, we can neither predicate knowledge of them, nor have any certain, valid science from them: so that in the Platonic sense, *true KNOWLEDGE is to be SOUGHT and FOUND, SOLELY in the IDEAS, that is the THOUGHTS, CONCEPTIONS and ATTRIBUTES of the DIVINE BEING, GOD.*

II. As Plato's conception of knowledge thus binds it, for its material, to the realities and truths of the divine nature and thought, and in this differs very widely from our notion of it, so does his view of the MENTAL RELATION which CONSTITUTES KNOW-



ING differ radically from that which is now current. With us knowledge of anything is mere acquaintance with, or memory of it; but Plato means by knowledge, such a possession of the thing known as makes it an essential part of our own experience, character and life; and, hence, will make us to be such as the nature of the thing known requires we should be. We sometimes use the word in the same manner, as e. g., when we say "a man who knows music is a musician," or "he who knows the art of painting is a painter." So that in general, knowledge is with Plato such that

"He who has learnt any art, is such a person as each science respectively makes its proficient; and he who has learnt just things is just." i. 152.

Or as more fully expressed in some verses of Epicharmus quoted by Diogenes Laertius, vi. 183.

"Seems not the case then, to be thus about the good?  
That of itself it is a thing, and he who learning, knows it, good becomes?  
Just as a piper who has learned to pipe;  
Or to dance, has a dancer learned;  
Or some weaver to weave;  
Or what you will of trades like these."

And in another aspect, Plato says of it,

"Knowledge is, as if one had gone a certain road and thus knew it; while opinion is only as if one had heard of it from others." iii. 43.

Thus real knowledge is, with Plato, not only an acquaintance with facts about the eternal realities, and truths, but such a spiritual intuition and participation of these divine ideas as shall make them essential powers in our own experience, and life; it is in fact the same as the Bible means by knowing, in such passages among many others, as (Jno. xvii. 3.)

"This is life eternal that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" And of which Delitzsch (Job, v. 2, p. 31) says correctly, "*γινωσκειν* signifies mostly in the Bible a knowledge which enters into the subject intimately and unites itself with it." So that in Plato's view, "Knowledge in its highest conception has the good for its object and contents." (*Bunsen's God in History*, ii. 333.) "And is not attained until the mind is brought into clear view of the universal ideas or forms, and intimate communion with them." (*Grote's Plato*, i. 267.) And therefore he can truly say of knowledge in this sense, "It is a noble thing, and able to govern man; and if a man know good and evil, he can never be overcome by anything, so as to do anything else than what knowledge bids him." i. 283.

The relation between knowledge thus conceived, and virtue, is readily apparent. They are in fact the same, only regarded in somewhat different aspects. Knowledge is the presence and power of the divine ideas in the soul, instructing and moulding it into the likeness of themselves; and virtue is the character derived from these same ideas, and outwardly expressed in corresponding life and acts. Now, knowledge is in the whole Philosophy of Plato, the one absolutely essential thing which every life should have, and from which alone we can derive true principles of reasoning and living. This is asserted and maintained directly, in very many of his discussions; and is the key to the understanding of the drift of nearly all the so-called Negative Dialogues, or those in which no definite conclusion is announced: the most of these take some important element of life, or thought, and show by a *reductio ad absurdum*, the impossibility of gaining any satisfactory results concerning it, apart from the relations it should hold to knowledge; and thus they are designed to demonstrate the inability to think or do anything aright without true science; and in his view, the highest and only proper aim of every soul should be, to have this knowledge. He only who does this has any right conception of what life is, or how to use it. The science which has this for its subject, is alone true science; and to reason and discourse of dialectics, which is the name he gives this science, is the only theme worthy the thought and study of the true philosopher. And when we conceive of knowledge in the sense of Plato, we see at once that virtue, Ethics in its most profound conception, is the essential and pervading spirit of his entire Philosophy. Its fundamental principle is, that the realities and truths of the Divine Nature should be the constant object of our thoughts, and the controlling power of the soul; and to lead men to a life of virtue is the inspiring aim it everywhere proposes.

To make men know God, and seek to be like Him—this, then, is the vital principle of the Philosophy of Plato, and this is the sublime ideal he presents as the only proper end of every human soul. When it has this it has true knowledge; and this is virtue; to realize this is the highest object of all true Philosophy, and to live it should be the constant effort of the life of every man.

"For he who is employed in knowledge, and true wisdom should be endued with wisdom about immortal and divine concerns; for we are plants not of earth but heaven; and from the same source whence our souls arose, a divine nature raising aloft our head and root, directs our whole corporeal frame." ii. 406. "By looking at what is divine and bright, we shall do what is pleasing to the Deity, and know what is our own good." iv. 369. "And we should endeavor as quickly as possible to fly to the gods; and this flight consists in resembling God as much as possible; and this resemblance is the becoming just and holy with wisdom; and on this depends the true excellence of a man, and his nothingness and worthlessness." ii. 411. "The man is dear to the Deity, who is similar to Him." v. 140. "And if the company will be persuaded by me, we considering the soul to be immortal and able to bear all evil and good, shall always persevere in the road that leads upward; that so we may be friends both to ourselves, and to the gods." ii. 312. "For the best mode of life is to live and die in the exercise of justice, and the other virtues; and we should be anxious not about living, but about living well; and study not to appear good, but to be so." i. 231. "For no possession whatever would be of aught avail without the possession of the good." ii. 193. "And one who has adorned his soul, not with a foreign, but its own proper ornament, temperance, justice, fortitude and truth, may be confident about his soul." i. 124. "For he is beloved of the gods, and if he happen to be in poverty, or diseases, or any other seeming evils, these issue in something good, either while alive or dead, for never is he at any time neglected by the gods, who inclines earnestly to become just, and practice virtue so far as it is possible for man to resemble God." ii. 303.

Such are the fundamental principles of Plato's conception of the nature and source of virtue; but there are also several conclusions derived from these, which are essential to the notion of virtue as conceived by him.

One of these is the seeming paradox, to which he often recurs, that although virtue is knowledge, yet it cannot be taught; it is knowledge because consisting in the intuition and participation of the Divine idea; but as this is something which concerns exclusively our own personal experience, it cannot be communicated to us by any human teacher; the traces of these ideas, impressed on our soul in its pre-existence, are, it is true, in every man, but they have been so obscured by the passions of the body, and the perversions of the soul, that they are almost obliterated; and the most that the best human teaching, true Philosophy, can effect, is to arouse the mind to enter on the search for these Divine realities, and aid it to recall them to itself again in purity and in power. But even to do this aright, requires a higher agency than any un-

assisted human influence: virtue is so divine a thing that it can come to man only as a gift of God.

"And is present to those to whom it is present, not by nature, nor by being taught, but by a Divine destiny." iv. 48.

And it is from this characteristic of it that Justin Martyr says\* "that Plato has announced the Holy Ghost under the name of virtue." He also connects with the Holy Spirit another of the conclusions of Plato respecting virtue, viz: "that there are not several virtues, which can exist separately, and be practiced independently one of the other, but only one virtue, which is the endeavor of the soul to look upon God,"† and shape the life into His likeness; and what we call different virtues, Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude and Justice, are only various manifestations of the one same Divine Image in our soul; and as says Justin‡ "the one same Holy Spirit is divided into seven spirits, so he also naming it one and the same virtue divides it into four virtues." A man, to have true virtue, must strive in all things to "be perfect even as his Father in the Heaven is perfect;" and whoso "shall offend in one is guilty of all."

Nor is it this life alone with which virtue, in Plato's conception, is involved.

"The soul is the man," iv. 361, "and is immortal; and as immortal it requires our care, not only for the present time, which we call life, but for all time, and the danger would appear to be dreadful if one should neglect it; for if death were a deliverance from everything, it would be a great gain for the wicked when they die, to be delivered at the same time from the body and from their vices, with the soul; but now since it appears to be immortal, it can have no other refuge from evils, nor safety, except by becoming as good, and wise as possible." i. 116. "For when soul and body are separated by death, each possesses much the same habit that the man had when alive and the soul manifests as well its natural disposition, as the affections which the man acquired in his soul from his various pursuits." i. 229. "And there are two models in the nature of things, one Divine, and most happy, and the other ungodly and most miserable, and bad men, through stupidity and extreme folly, become similar to the one by unjust actions, and dissimilar to the other, wherefore they are punished by leading a life suited to that to which they are assimilated." i. 412. "Every one shall partake of virtue, more or less, according as he honors or dishonors her, and the cause is in

\* Ante Nicene Library, ii. 320.

† Justin Martyr, ii. 88.

‡ Ante Nicene Library, ii. 320.

him who makes the choice, and the Deity is blameless." ii. 308. "And a man who has passed through life justly and piously, when he dies shall go to the Isles of the Blest and dwell in all perfect happiness, free from evil, but he who has lived unjustly and impiously shall go to a prison of punishment and justice which they call Tartarus." i. 228. "There, then, it seems, is the whole danger of man; and hence, this is of all things, most to be attended to. How each of us, omitting other studies, is to become a learner and inquirer in this study, in order to be able to discern a good life and a bad, and to choose everywhere and at all times, the best of what is possible; for we have seen that in life and in death, this is the best choice." ii. 309.

We have now traced, though only in bare skeleton, the outline of the thoughts of Plato about virtue, God, man's place in this universe, and the meaning and destiny of the life of man. Have, in a word, sketched the main features of his Philosophy, viewed in its ethical relations; and from these, we have seen, not only that he announced important principles and lofty precepts in the domain of Ethics, but also that his entire system of Philosophy was everywhere so interwoven with the ethical, and dependent on it, that this must be regarded as the essential and constructive element of his whole scheme of thought. And our end will be attained if we have conveyed with truth, and some degree of clearness, an idea of this, the most wonderful of all the products of the human intellect. We have not space, nor did it consist with our purpose to enter into the details of his opinions on the minor questions of state organization, or individual actions; in these we should find many things which the superior morality we have derived from Revelation would condemn as flaws and errors; and much that is vague and unsatisfactory; for while he everywhere abounds with the profoundest truths and wisest maxims, upon almost every subject in the range of human life, at the same time his views of what is practically right or wrong in special acts, or lines of conduct are often wide astray from our better standard. Though he yearned to know God, he had but an imperfect sense of what God's moral and spiritual nature truly is; and he rather was a man who sought to apprehend the Divine goodness, and perfections, than one who really knew them as they were; and yet, in the conclusions of his Dialectics, he has laid the foundation of a Philosophy of Ethics, which stands hard by the truths of Revelation; and its essential principle, that the grand aim of life should be so to know God, the good, the true, the just, the beautiful as to be like Him, is a conception so sublime and godlike, that it fully justifies the verdict of the ages which has pronounced its author the Divine Plato.

## ART. III.—BISHOP TEMPLE.

*Essays and Reviews.* Twelfth edition, 12mo. London, Longmans.

*Replies to Essays and Reviews.* New York. D. Appleton & Co., 1862.

*Aids to Faith.* By various writers. London. Murray, 1863.

*Explanation of the Bishop of Exeter, before the Convocation of Canterbury,* 1870.

THE singular elevation of Mr. Gladstone is teaching some remarkable lessons in regard to Church and State in Great Britain. As D'Israeli attained the Premiership by advocating an extension of the franchise, so his successor reached office on the proposed ruin of the Irish establishment. We thus perceive that two men—the one conservative by birth, and education, and the other conservative by conviction, and interest—have inaugurated an ecclesiastical, and a political revolution which may eventually make England a virtual republic. And equally strange was the appointment of Dr. Temple to the See of Exeter. We might have supposed that the instincts of Mr. Gladstone as a Churchman would have controlled his policy as a Statesman. Far otherwise. His career seems a display of contrarieties. He could scarcely have made a nomination more unexpected, more in opposition to his former views, or more distasteful to the two great sections of the English Church. The election, and consecration of Dr. Temple despite the indignation of Laymen, the resolutions of Clergymen, and the protests of Bishops was a signal triumph of Rationalism. Amid the solemnities of the service in the venerable Church which saw him invested with the sanctities of the Episcopal Order, and admitted into the Apostolical Succession, an American Unitarian, witnessed with exultation the imposing rite, felt he had a part in the ceremonial, and afterwards described the scene with glowing words which over our own country kindled triumph in the hearts of thousands who deny the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the Divinity of our Lord. An event so striking certainly demands some notice in our pages. Nor has its interest been diminished by the singular explanation of the new Bishop in the Convocation of Canterbury. On one day, his august brethren in the Episcopate hear with inexpressible relief that the objectionable Essay will



never again be published by its author. Joy is expressed. Congratulations are exchanged. Confidence is restored. The news flashes over two continents. On the next day a reason is assigned for the determination so unexpectedly announced which not only nullifies its force, but aggravates, and intensifies the original offence. Previously Dr. Temple avowed that he was not responsible for the opinions of his associates. Now he declares that the objectionable volume, directed against the most venerable mysteries of the Faith as revealed in the inspired Scriptures, embodied in the Ancient Creeds, expressed in the English Offices, while it mischievously shook the confidence of many Christians in different parts of the world, and encouraged the efforts of sceptics, yet accomplished more good than evil, and that although a Bishop of Exeter should not make alliance with Rationalism, still a Doctor of Divinity, having a different position, and therefore a different conscience, and a different responsibility, might march under the banners of the common enemy.

Before examining the most dangerous position of the celebrated Essay, it may be well to revive our fading recollections of what was advanced in the volume which it introduced. The Review of Bunsen, by Dr. Williams betrays an evident desire to extenuate if not defend the wild vagaries of the eccentric German. It evidently aims to spiritualize into a confusing mysticism all the great verities of the Christian faith. The following language cannot be misunderstood.

"The primitive Trinity represents neither three originant principles, nor three transient phases, but three eternal *influences* in one Divine mind."—"The unity of God as the eternal Father is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, but the Divine consciousness, or wisdom consubstantial with the Eternal Will, becoming personal in the Son of man, is the express image of the Father, and Jesus actually, but also mankind ideally is the Son of God. If all this has a Sabellian, or almost a Brahminical sound, its impugnors are bound, even on patristic grounds, to show how it differs from the doctrine of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and the historian Eusebius."

In regard to Bunsen, the writer says:

"Our own testimony is, where we have been best able to follow him, we have generally found most reason to agree with him."

But we will understand more clearly in what company Dr. Temple permitted himself to be found as a recommendation for his



elevation to the Episcopate by a few other extracts from the writings of the volume to which his name and talents certainly gave a more extensive currency. We do not hesitate to affirm that they tend to undermine the whole foundation of our Christian Faith. They appear not so much nascent Rationalism as matured Infidelity. However, as our chief object in this Article is to expose a single position of Bishop Temple's own Essay, we will refrain comment on the opinions of his friends, and give simply two extracts from their contributions.

Prof. Baden Powell on "the Study of the Evidences of Christianity" says :

"The Philosophy of the age does not discredit the inspiration of Prophets and Apostles, though it may sometimes believe it in poets, legislators and philosophers, and others gifted with high genius." "If miracles were, in the estimation of a former age among the chief supports of Christianity, they are at present among the main difficulties, and hindrances to its acceptance." "Testimony after all is but a second-hand assurance; it is but a blind guide; testimony can avail nothing as against reason." "In nature and from nature, by science, and by reason, we neither have, nor can possibly have, any evidence of a Deity working miracles."

As Prof. Baden Powell thus would subvert the whole supernatural attestation of the Scriptures, so Prof. Benjamin Jowett denies any divine inspiration of the Scriptures which would preserve them from mistake, and make them an infallible standard of truth, and an unquestioned object of faith. But we will let him express his own opinions in his own words. He says in the Essay on "The Interpretation of Scripture :"—

"Nor for any of the higher or supernatural views of inspiration is there any foundation in the Gospels, or Epistles. There is no appearance in their writings that the Evangelists or Apostles had any inward gift, or were subject to any power external to them different from that of preaching or teaching which they daily exercised, nor do they anywhere lead us to suppose that they were free from error or infirmity." "There is no appearance that is to say of insincerity, or want of faith; but neither is there feet accuracy or agreement." "The time will come when educated men will be no more able to believe that the words 'Out of Egypt have I called my son,' were intended by the Prophet to refer to the return of Joseph and Mary from Egypt, than they are able to believe the Roman Catholic explanation of Genesis iii. 15. 'Ipsa conteret caput tuum.' They will no more think that the first Chapter of Genesis relates the same tale which Geology and Ethnology unfold than they now think the meaning of Joshua x. 12, 13, to be in accordance with Galileo's discovery."

Surely if Christendom was shocked when distinguished members of the Church of England wrote in the style, and breathed the spirit, and repeated the arguments of German Rationalism, it was not less shocked to behold united in their infidel work an eminent Priest of the Church of England, who had subscribed her Articles, and been ordained by her Bishops, and been supported by her revenues, and been sworn to her defence. Nor can we wonder that Religion is grieved when the offence both of Frederick Temple and his associates is publicly sanctioned by the Bishop of Exeter, before his venerable brethren assembled in that very Convocation whose object is to preserve and diffuse an uncorrupted faith in the Divine Oracles as an inspired Revelation of the will of God.

But it is not the only mistake of our Essayist to have labored with suspicious persons whose writings tended to injure the authority of the Sacred Scriptures. We venture to affirm that in a few sentences he has inculcated what, if true, logically and inevitably would sweep away both the supernatural attestations of our Holy Religion, and its sacred mysteries. He states :

"The time was come when it was fit to trust to Conscience as a *supreme guide*." "When Conscience and the Bible appear to differ, the pious Christian immediately concludes that he has not understood the Bible." "The current is all one way ; it evidently points to the identification of the Bible with the voice of Conscience." "This it does by virtue of the principle of private judgment which puts Conscience between us and the Bible ; making Conscience the supreme interpreter, whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but whom it can never be a duty to disobey." "If historical investigation shall show us that inspiration, however it may protect the doctrine, yet was not empowered to protect the narrative of the inspired writers from occasional inaccuracy—the result should still be welcome."

Here Conscience is styled both the guide and interpreter of Divine Truth, never to be disobeyed, while proof that the Scriptures were not preserved from error by the Holy Spirit would be received with pleasure by the writer. Certainly this is an anomalous and startling position for either a Priest, or a Bishop of the Church of England. Perhaps nothing is more variable than the human Conscience. Nothing more requires education. Nothing leads to more pernicious deceptions. The Conscience of the Boodhist tears his flesh with iron. The Conscience of the Romanist impels to the supplication of saints. The Conscience of the Thug sanctions murder. The Conscience, allied to taste and sensibility, like them

fluctuates in its decisions, and has not the steadiness of Reason, the true king of the soul. Hence the necessity that it must itself have recourse to some reliable standard, which shall be at once its educator and its guide. But the entire position of Dr. Temple's Essay involves both a philosophical and a theological error.

The proper sphere of Conscience is not the investigation of truth, but the decision between right and wrong. It is a guide rather in conduct than in doctrine. It has its office in passing judgment on our actions, but is not at all the director in our investigations. Dr. Temple's assertion would remove everything in the Scriptures relating to evidence, and dogma from the domain of the mind, and clouds with confusion the most obvious distinctions of our faculties. Perhaps the German term "Consciousness," as expressing rather a condition of the soul—a species of totality, including the entire mental and moral being—would have been more philosophical and less dangerous. Yet such a state is clearly the result of discipline, and produced by all the varied influences, which affect an individual, a nation, an age. Indeed, whatever seems to elevate the soul of man above the Word of God, and unsettle faith in the Scriptures as an inspired standard of truth is perilous to every interest of Religion, and certainly in antagonism to the teaching and genius of the Anglican Church. The very use of the term Conscience, where both philosophical and theological accuracy would employ Reason, is itself a suspicious circumstance. As the former faculty always involves some consideration in regard to right and wrong, to style it the sole guide, and arbiter of truth, would seem a studious effort to inculcate that the Scripture is a book of morals, and not a book of doctrines, or a book of mysteries, and hence associates Bishop Temple with those Rationalists who will extol the precepts of the Divine Word, and yet seek to sweep from it every supernatural element. In all investigations touching the truth of the Bible, we must regard its two-fold aspect. It first reveals a moral code intelligible to Reason. We can easily perceive the universal fitness of the ten commandments. Their observance promotes, individual, and social, and national happiness. They carry with them their own sanction, while the fire, and the thunder, and the earthquake, and the cloud, and the voice might, have been necessary to impress them on a rude people long encircled by idolatries. Yet, in the intellectual advances of the race

their *excellence* is their authentication. Expanded by the precepts of the Gospel, and illustrated in the life, of our Saviour they form a perfect rule for human life in every age of the world, and in every period of time. The exposition of Jesus Christ resolving the moral law into love to God and man, contains in principle an epitome of conduct not only for beings on earth, but in heaven. Yet even here it is erroneous to say that Conscience is our guide, and interpreter. It is Reason alone which can demonstrate truth. Conscience simply approves or disapproves where we apply it to our actions.

But the Bishop of Exeter, as a Clergyman of the Church of England is supposed to receive more than the Moral Code of the Scriptures. He is sworn to faith in doctrines not only removed from the sphere of Conscience but even beyond the comprehension of Reason. Before God, and man he has solemnly avowed his belief in the Trinity, in the Divinity of our Lord, and in the Resurrection from the dead. In regard to these there is not a single proof in nature, nor have they any immediate connection with Conscience. Yet they are to be received by the intellect, to be embraced by the heart, to affect the entire character. Our view of the Trinity influences all our approaches to God in prayer. Our view of the incarnation, and death of our Lord Jesus Christ determines the whole nature of our service. Our view of the Resurrection colors all our hopes of immortality. Now since Bishop Temple is pledged to faith in the Mysteries of our Religion, which are not only to enter the mind, but to impress the life, we may ask him how upon his theory that Conscience is his supreme guide, and only interpreter, can he believe truths in regard to which Conscience cannot at all pronounce? His position involves a contradiction, and an absurdity. That man who believes the Mysteries of our holy Religion is logically compelled to admit the supernatural in their proof, and can no longer graduate truths either by the decisions of his Conscience, or the comprehension of his Reason. Yet both these faculties have their proper and healthful relation to Christianity. Why does not Bishop Temple bow to the Pope when he would impose on the world the dogma of his infallibility? Why does the intelligence of the age revolt from the arrogance of the Vatican? Why do men deride the imposing pageantries which are dazzling Rome? Simply because the lofty

claim to inspiration has no authentication. Yet we believe the Prophet, and the Apostle, and the Saviour where we refuse credence to Doctors, and Bishops, and Popes. The difference is obvious. Where the Scriptural writers declare moral precepts comprehensible by our Reason we may embrace their teaching because it comes recommended to our intelligence. But where the Scriptural writers declare awful Mysteries beyond the comprehension of our Reason, we demand what the Vatican cannot furnish—a *supernatural authentication*. A sign from Heaven in such a case must be the credential of the Ambassador of Heaven. Where Mysteries are revealed, Miracles are not only suitable but essential. There is indeed no other possible proof. Reason then finds its noblest office in the examination of the evidence which is presented, and in the interpretation of the truth which is revealed. Surely, there can be no higher function than to investigate the fact of Miracles, the truth of Prophecy, the internal fitness and beauty, and excellence of the Scripture, and then to explore Language, History, Chronology, Science and every department of Human Knowledge in the elucidation of the sacred text, and the application of its truths to the regulation of each individual life. And in the truest sense our Holy Christianity instead of being the enemy is the friend of Reason. She appeals to Reason in the investigation of her moral precepts. She appeals to Reason in the examination of those supernatural evidences which authenticate her incomprehensible Mysteries. She appeals to Reason in the interpretation of her inspired Revelation. She appeals to Reason in the application of abstract principles to individual conduct. She appeals to Reason in those methods which are to relieve human suffering, instruct human ignorance, and conquer the human race over the entire world to the sway of her Divine Saviour. She therefore looks with suspicion on those sworn advocates of her truths, who supported by her revenues, and under the sanction of her name, seek alliance with men who insult her majesty by asserting that in her Miracles and her Mysteries she is the foe of Reason, and the ally of superstition. And when we consider the loose declaration of Bishop Temple's Essay and its necessary logical consequences, when we consider that his associates have questioned the inspiration of the Scripture, and disturbed confidence in its supernatural proofs, when we consider that his nomination

and consecration awakened the exultation of Rationalism throughout the world, when we consider how his late explanations in Convocation have not only sanctioned his own Essay, but vindicated the publication of the offensive Volume, it is not strange that his position in the Episcopate should be regarded with alarm by the Anglican Church—nay more by Orthodox Christendom. Indeed, his appointment may yet prove one in a long series of events which seem tending both to disestablishment and revolution. But whatever the result, we are confident that there remains a glorious future both for the English Church, and the English Nation.

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#### ART. IV.—THE DIVINE LIFE AND THE NEW BIRTH.

*By the REV. JAMES CRAIK, D. D., Rector of Christ's Church, Louisville; Author of "Search of Truth," "Old and New," etc.*

*Christ the Desire of all Nations, or, The Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom: Being The Hulsean Lectures for the Year 1846.*  
*By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A.*

THE Incarnation of the Son of God, for the Redemption of fallen man, was the beginning of that great work of salvation, which He came to accomplish for our race. But that those whose nature He took, may become partakers of this salvation, they must receive the life of God and in God, which is communicated to us from the Incarnate Lord.

The question presented in the book of Dr. Craik, whose title is at the head of this Article, is, how and when this Divine Life is communicated from the Incarnate Lord to those whom He came to save. Did He, by His Incarnation, endow the nature of man, which He took into union with His Divine Person, as it successively comes into being in each person, with His life, *or*, did He present Himself to men, as the Way, the Truth, and the Life; did He, by His Work of Redemption, accomplished here on earth, and proclaimed by His ascension to heaven as a finished work, win this divine life for fallen man, by His victory over sin, death, and hell, and then, in the preaching of His Gospel under His own di-



vine commission, reveal it and offer it to all, who would receive it in His own appointed sacrament of regeneration, in the New Birth ordinarily, and by His covenant of grace, the pledge and the beginning of that life coming from Him, which would be, to them, the regaining of the life of God in the soul, previously lost by the fall of man from his condition in Paradise?

Or, to state these questions in other words—Is the Incarnation, ipso facto, the gift of the divine life from Christ to all men without exception, whose nature He took; *or*, is the New Birth of water and of the Spirit the revealed beginning, in each individual man, who is so new born, of that divine life, which has been provided for all men, who will receive it, by the Incarnation, and by the Work of Redemption considered as the development of the Incarnation in the fulness of its life and power?

The answer given in the book of Dr. Craik is, that by the first of these methods, the divine life is imparted to all men for whom the Son of God became incarnate, and that the New Birth of water and of the Spirit is simply the introduction of those, who have received this Divine Life to the Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, there to be fed, nourished, strengthened and perfected, by all the means of grace. To prove, illustrate and enforce this position in its connection with all the arrangements of the Christian Church, and all the applications to men of the saving power of the Religion of Christ, is the object of Dr. Craik's able, interesting, and well-written work.

He mentions these three presentments of Christianity as the only three Gospels, which are proclaimed among men, and the first it is his object to set forth as the only true Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the only true exposition of the life and grace that flow to man from His Incarnation. "One," he says, p. 71 :

"Is the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who came into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved." That Gospel teaches,

1st. That the entire race of man is by *nature* fallen, degenerate, dead. That each human being is so 'far gone from original righteousness, as of his own nature to be inclined to evil,' so that 'the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit,' and 'is not subject to the law of God.' Art. 9.

2d. That the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity assumed our nature that He might become the second Adam, and give to that nature a new and



better life, and that the Incarnate Saviour suffered death upon the cross for the redemption of all mankind, 'and made there a full perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.'

3d. That from the right hand of the Eternal Majesty, where He ever liveth to make intercession for us, He hath given gifts unto men, even the inestimable gift of His Holy Spirit, to be the Teacher, Monitor and Guide of the souls for which He died; and to dwell in the hearts of men, the principle of a new and divine life, the bond of reunion between God and man.

4th. That this redemption and this consequent gift are as extensive and as universal as the previous condemnation, which has come into the world by sin. Accordingly we are assured that the sacrifice of Christ and the benefits of that sacrifice were made over to mankind—to the entire race of man—from the foundation of the world.

5th. The divine life thus given to every man is a germ, a seed, which does not necessarily, and by the force of the mere gift, destroy and take the place of the carnal nature, but co-exists with that carnal nature, and enters into conflict with all that is evil and depraved in the natural life; and, if properly entertained and nurtured, will ultimately overcome, mortify and kill all the evil of corrupt nature, and substitute for that evil purity, goodness, and every divine affection.

6th. The Church of Christ, with all its appliances of faith and holiness, has been appointed as the last, the fullest, and the most perfect of the means and instrumentalities for the nurture and development of the divine life, from its embryo existence as a power in the soul of man, through all the successive stages of growth, to the maturity of perfect manhood in Jesus Christ; and to be introduced into that Church by Baptism is the second birth—the birth of water and of the Spirit.

One of the other gospels to which we have referred teaches,

1st. That the gift of God, the Holy Spirit, the Divine Life, is imparted only to the baptized. That it begins in Baptism, and is inseparably connected with that sacrament.

2d. That the Divine Life, by the mere gift thereof, effectually and at once destroys the carnal life—the whole evil of corrupt nature—reuniting the subject of this gift to the state of Adam before the fall, making him pure, immaculate, without sin.

3d. The same system teaches that this pure and spotless being, may, nevertheless, fall, as Adam fell by sin; in which case the divine life, before imparted, is in its turn utterly extinguished and destroyed; and the carnal life, by an anticipated resurrection, reappears in full strength and development, and resumes its previous sway and mastery over the soul.

4th. For this new and terrible incident of humanity, unknown to the true Gospel, and unprovided for there, the new Gospel has invented a supplementary sacrament of far more practical value and efficacy than the sacrament of Baptism which our blessed Lord provided. For, according to the system we are now describing, the supplemental sacrament of penance reconveys the divine life to the soul in full maturity and strength, just as often as it may be forfeited and lost by sin.

There is yet, 'another Gospel,' very similar in some of its features to the last mentioned, but differing from it in other particulars. It agrees with it in denying peremptorily that the gift of God, the Holy Spirit, the Divine Life, is bestowed impartially upon all mankind. But instead of restricting this gift to the baptized, and looking upon Baptism as the instrument by which it is conferred, this other Gospel teaches,

1st. That the gift of the Eternal Spirit is bestowed only upon those whom it terms converted persons, and who have passed through certain experiences, and have been moved by a peculiar class of feelings designated as the New Birth.

So far the maintainers of this Gospel, which constitutes the popular theology of the day, go together in entire harmony of statement.

But at this point two parties are presented to our view, who go as far asunder as possible. The smaller of these teaches,

2d. That the converted persons, upon whom the Holy Spirit is bestowed have been previously designated by an eternal decree; and that the recipients of this divine life can never lose it, or fail to secure the everlasting reward of the righteous."

The larger class of the adherents of the popular theology maintain, instead of the last proposition,

"3d. That men may fall from grace. That the Divine Life may be often lost and recovered; and that the way to recover it is to repeat the process by which it was first obtained—that is, by certain well-known appliances, to stimulate the feelings, and to seek for the experiences which were at first regarded as the beginning and the assurance of the divine Life."

Now we venture to say that there is another Gospel, which Dr. Craik does not specify, which he identifies, in fact, with the second Gospel that he does specify, which we propose to maintain and set forth as the true Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as that Gospel contained in Holy Scripture, and witnessed to and proclaimed by His Catholic Church, in an unbroken line of testimony from the day of Pentecost to our own time. In exhibiting what we hope to show is the True Gospel issuing from the commission of the risen Lord, we shall mark the lines of separation and distinction of this Gospel, which the Church has from the first, and through the ages proclaimed, from the Gospel, which, in the Book, "*The Divine Life and the New Birth*," now before us, is earnestly commended as the only Gospel, proceeding from the fountain of revealed divine truth.

We will first state what this gospel is, that we may supply an unhappy omission, which we find in the Book of Dr. Craik.

In the first place this Gospel teaches (we use the language of Dr. Craik's book, where it is coincident with the true Gospel of our Lord, as contained in Scripture, and held by His Catholic Church) that the entire race of man is fallen, that each man

"Is very far gone from original righteousness, and is, of his own nature, inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit;" "and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation."

2d. That the Second Person of the Adorable Trinity assumed our nature that He might become the Second Adam, and give to that nature a new and better life, and that the Incarnate Saviour suffered death upon the Cross for the redemption of all mankind, and made there "a full perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."

3d. That from the right hand of the Eternal Majesty where He ever liveth to make intercession for us, He hath given gifts unto men, even the inestimable gift of His Holy Spirit to be the teacher, monitor, and guide of the souls for which He died; and to dwell in the hearts of men, *who receive Him as He is offered by the preaching of the gospel, and in the sacrament of our new birth unto God*, the principle of a new and divine life, the bond of re-union between God and man.

4th. That the divine life, *in those who receive it*, is a germ, a seed, which does not necessarily and by the force of the mere gift, destroy and take the place of the carnal nature, but co-exists with that "*infection of nature*," which remains "*yea in them that are regenerated*," and enters into conflict with all that is evil and depraved in the natural life; and, if properly entertained and nurtured, will ultimately overcome, mortify and kill all the evil of corrupt nature, and substitute for that evil, purity, goodness, and every divine affection.

5th. That the Church of Christ with all its appliances of faith and holiness has been appointed *as the revealed and covenanted means and instrumentality* for the nurture and development of the divine life from its "*beginning*" in Christian infancy, in the soul of man, through all the successive stages of growth, to the maturity of perfect manhood in Jesus Christ; and to be introduced into that Church by Baptism is the second birth, the birth of water

and of the Spirit, which is *the beginning of that divine life, which we have in and through the Incarnation of the Son of God.*

We have marked in italics the distinctions of this Gospel, which Dr. Craik has omitted to specify from that Gospel, which he propounds as the only true Gospel of our Lord and Saviour.

The question is not what God may do or has done, by extraordinary dispensations of His grace, which hath appeared unto all men, (as for all Christ became Incarnate and died,) for men, who are out of the Christian Church, or who have never heard the Gospel preached under our Lord's great commission. We freely grant that He may confer, or that He may have bestowed the gift of the divine life, of the indwelling Spirit of Christ, upon those who are not of His Church, or who have never heard of Christ, but we maintain that such is not the ordinary and revealed dispensation for the communication, to men, of the life, which introduces them to the new creation in Christ Jesus. We do not believe, nor is it the teaching of Holy Scripture, that men in their fallen condition, are incapable of receiving the grace of God, that there is no residuum of a spiritual nature in man, even in his fallen condition, to which the Spirit of God can join Himself, and so, by His grace, lead men, themselves willingly following, to the reception of the divine life provided for them in Christ.

Now this incapacity to receive the grace of God, this incapability (p. 87,) "of thinking, doing, or desiring any good thing," this "deadness to goodness and to God," (p. 87), this incapacity "to hear, receive, and believe the Gospel," (p. 92), this denial to the natural man of "all capacity for good," (p. 80), which is equivalent to incapacity for the sanctifying grace of God, is what Dr. Craik unequivocally asserts to be the condition to which the Fall has reduced us, and hence the Divine life engrafted upon this nature totally depraved, utterly ruined, and unspiritualized, is absolutely needful to enable any man to take the very first step in the progressive work of his salvation.

But we submit that, in a being in such a condition, there would be no place of entertainment for the Divine Spirit, much less any stock of spiritual life whatsoever, upon which the graft of the Divine life could be inserted by the Spirit, which communicates the life that comes from Christ. We believe, and we think it demonstrable that man, though very far gone from original righteousness,

as far as it is possible for him to go, remaining man, though as the Homily of the Church hath it, "we be all crab-trees," nevertheless has spiritual life, though perverted and twisted into strange deformities, by the life of sin incorporated with it, upon which the graft from the Incarnation of the Lord can be inserted, and draw from the spiritual nature which God has made, its heavenward growth and its Divine fruitfulness, and the assertion of the reality of the spiritual nature of man, and its consequent receptivity of the Grace of the Incarnation, we hold to be a fundamental position for the maintenance of the possibility of benefit to man from the Redemption of Christ.

That we will not come to Christ till drawn by the Grace of the Holy Spirit, we entirely agree with Dr. Craik in asserting from Holy Scripture, and as a truth clearly stated and defined by the Church among the recorded results of the controversy with the Pelagians and the Semi-Pelagians. We could quote, if it were needful, the determinations of the Council of Orange, fully and clearly to the purpose, on this important and fundamental point of our Christian Belief. However that the salvation of Christ may be a possibility for man, we are constrained to admit that he is a spiritual being, capable as such, of receiving the gracious access of the Spirit, who confers the New Life in Christ Jesus. But to maintain that he must receive this Divine life to make him capable of being blessed and saved by the Incarnate Lord, would remove him as far from the possibility of salvation, as if he were a beast, a stock, or a stone.

Here then is the *πρῶτον ψευδος* of the Gospel, which is put forth, in Dr. Craik's Book, as the only Gospel of Truth. If the Fall had extinguished man's spiritual nature and capacity instead of perverting and disordering it, and calling it away from its true and normal attachment to the life of the Father of Spirits, then, for men, has the Son of God become Incarnate and died in vain. It was when we were in that strength, and not without all spiritual life, which is the endowment of our nature, that Christ died for the ungodly. If the Fall had blotted out, from the spiritual universe of God, the spiritual nature of man, then there would have been nought for the Spirit of God to work upon, in the long ages of preparation for the coming of Christ; there would have been no darkness, not comprehending the Light whose intensity, for those long

ages, the Light was seeking to penetrate; the spiritual history of man would have been a delusion, and the attempt to save him would never have elicited the sympathizing and wondering gaze of angels desiring to look into the mysteries of Redemption—the mysteries of the approach of the Spirit, who had received the things of Christ, to show them unto men, whose spiritual capacities were formed for a higher and nobler destiny, than that, which they were seeking to realize amid the pervading darkness of sin and death.

We commend to the attention of those who would see the true starting point of Redemption, in its application to man, the condition in which he was created, and that to which he had fallen, from which he was to be redeemed, the masterly treatise of Bishop Bull on the State of Adam before the Fall, as he illustrates and enforces the views, which have been those of the Catholic Church of Christ, in all ages of its history.

About the gift, which Christ provided for men, as the result of His accomplished work of Redemption, the gift of the Divine life to take possession of and rule the life of man, we can have, we are most happy to say, no difference with the writer of the Book on the Divine Life and the New Birth. But we must take the Gospel of our Lord in its totality—and we must learn, from His Revelation, how this gift is to be applied to men, and received by them, as well as how it is to be provided for all men who will entertain it. And we do learn from the disciple, who spoke from the bosom of the Lord Himself, that “*to as many as received Him* gave He power to become the sons of God, even to as many as believe on His name.” It strikes us that if the Gospel of Christ were the Gospel proclaimed in the book before us, as the only true one, that, in that passage of Holy Scripture, which treats expressly of the Incarnation and its application to men, where the beloved Disciple is speaking of the true light, which, coming from the world, enlighteneth every man, that, instead of reading, as it does at present, “But as many as received Him,” it would and must have read thus—“That was the True Light, which coming into the world enlighteneth every man, and *because* He came, the Light of the World, *all men* have the life from Him, which gives them power (*capacity* is Dr. Craik’s word) to become the sons of God.” But because the reading is “*as many as received Him*,” by believing on His name, we are constrained to believe and say, that belief



and baptism ("he that believeth and is baptized" are the words of the Great Commission,) are the revealed and appointed ways of receiving and communicating that life of Christ, by which we are saved, that is, put into a state of salvation in and through Him.

We are arrested by this grand exposition in the first Chapter of St. John's Gospel. It opens to us the clear truths of the Divine Life among men out of Christ and in Christ; and, taken in connection with the discourse of our Lord with Nicodemus in the same Gospel, the truth of the relation of the Divine Life to the Birth of Water and of the Spirit, which is our entrance into the kingdom of God, we have represented to us, in the first place, the mysterious and co-essential relation to God of the Word, which was in the beginning, was with God, and was God. He is revealed to us, as the Creator of the Universe, and Himself Uncreated. In Him we are emphatically told, was life, even the life which was the light of men, that very Divine life offered from Him, which is the subject of our present contemplation. And then, we are told that this light was shining, through all the ages, in darkness, the spiritual darkness, in which men were enshrouding themselves, and, during all those ages, (that was the condition of men before the coming of Christ,) the darkness did not comprehend, did not take to itself and appropriate the life, which was the light of men, but, because they would not receive it, it was not light in them and so, in them, the Divine life. For God is light, and those in whom this life is, have Him, the light, within them. But the light, man in his natural, fallen condition, did not comprehend, did not receive it, and so had not this life.

In this sad condition of the world, there was a change, so to speak, in the Divine plan; men had not received the Light as it had been presented, and then it was presented to them in another way, in the form of a clear and open Revelation, which they could consciously embrace, and so by their own reception, in compliance with this revelation, receive the life. "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John," to bear witness of that light, which had been shining among men so long, and they comprehended it not, to herald His coming in the flesh as the Incarnate Word. And when He came, not *all* simply because He came for all, but as many as received Him, to them He gave the power to become the sons of God. Whether this power be the first faint be-



ginning of life before birth, as Dr. Craik, in some places, represents the Divine life; which, he says, is in all men by virtue of the Incarnation, but which he usually identifies with the Divine life that comes from the Incarnate Word, whether, the power to become the sons of God be antenatal or natal life, it is clear that it is not represented as being given to all, by virtue of the Incarnation, but to as many as received Him, even to them that believe on His name.

Can any statement be clearer than this of the Divine Apostle? What the natural man had not, either before or after His coming, was given to those who were His, who had received Him in the way of His own Appointment, who were *Born*, not of blood, (not natural men) nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

This Birth is surely no other than that of which our Lord spoke to Nicodemus, the second Birth of Water and of the Spirit, by which we enter the Kingdom of God. The New Birth, then, of Water and of the Spirit, is, if we follow the teaching of St. John, the very Entrance upon, the very Reception of the Divine Life, which comes to us through Christ. It was because men had not this Life, out of that Kingdom, which arose from His Incarnation, whether before or after His Coming, that He came to communicate it to those who would receive it by being *born* into His Kingdom.

That then, under the Gospel of Christ, is the revealed and appointed Way, by which we become partakers of the Divine Life which Christ is, and which is the Light of men.

Where we have so clear a statement, in the words of Divine Inspiration, of the manner, that is, the ordinary and revealed manner in which the Incarnation is applied to make us participants of the Divine Life in Christ, we are precluded from a theory, however fascinating it may be to the Charity which hopeth and deviseth all things for all men, as that Charity may shape itself in the individual mind of any man, which asserts as from the Revelation of God Himself, that the Incarnation, ipso facto, endows the nature of man, as it successfully comes into being in each person, with the Life of Christ. We take the Revelation of Christ, as He has given it to us, and whatever we may hope or believe for our fellow-men out of the pale of the Covenant of Grace, we will not rest these opinions upon the basis of any clear Revelation from Him, as that

is, which tells us how we are made partakers of the Life of the Incarnate Saviour of men.

But this pregnant passage of St. John's Gospel, which is the normal one in the Incarnation and its relation to men in and out of Christ, is not yet exhausted of its bearing upon the subject before us. It contains the text, which, beyond all others, might be pleaded, if any could be put in plea, for the Gospel, which we are called to believe, against the current of teaching in the Catholic Church, as the true Gospel of our Lord; it is this, "That was the true Light, which, coming into the world, enlighteneth every man." Is not this full and plain? Is not Christ the Light of each and every man, so that each and every man has the Divine Life from Him? It might be so, if, in the same passage, we were not told, where the application of this Light to men is stated, that, to as many as received Him, who were born with the New Birth, He gave the power to become the sons of God, if we were not told, moreover, in the same passage, that this True Light which enlighteneth every man, was in the world, (after His Incarnation) and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not, and so all men in it had not received power to become the sons of God, had not received, in virtue of the Incarnation, the Divine Life, which comes from the Incarnate Son of God alone. We are forced then to conclude that the declaration that Christ was the True Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, is entirely synonymous with the declaration of the Lord Himself for example, in the 8th chapter of St. John's Gospel, v. 13, "I am the Light of the world," where the immediately subsequent words of the Lord uttered in the same breath, teach us that He did not mean to say that He was the Light of the world by imparting the Divine Light to every man, by the simple fact and virtue of His Incarnation for He adds, "He that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the Light of life," or, "of the life." So that the Reception of Christ, in His revealed and appointed Way, is the means, by which we become partakers of the Divine Life, which there is in His Incarnation, and concerning those, who do not so receive Him, it is not revealed that they are partakers of this life, though He is the True Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and though He is the Light of the world.

Undoubtedly this proposition of the Gospel keeps mysteries sealed with regard to the race of man, which it would be most desirable to us, as it seems, to have opened: but "the secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children forever." We might pursue this argument through the pages of the New Testament, and, everywhere, we fear not to say we should find the same answer, the same proposition of the Gospel, and declaration and appointment concerning the way of its application to the salvation of men: but we desire not to prolong discussion into tediousness, where it is sufficient for elucidation.

We refer to the Great Commission of the Lord, which was a direction for the application to men, of His work of Redemption, and for the communication to them of His Divine Life, which was in Him for all men, and we read, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." We refer to the Preaching of the day of Pentecost, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." We refer to the great object of the Gospel, which was to confer upon men a Gift, which they had not received, a Life, which they had not; and this was to be accomplished through the commission, into which our Lord had put His Gospel, for the declaration and communication of the Life that comes from Him. We refer to the description of the Gentile world, as given by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who says, that they were alienated (the Greek word is a strong and expressive one) from the Life of God, and surely *they* did not possess the Divine Life, simply because Christ had become Incarnate. And certain we are that the Great Apostle of the Gentiles would not have magnified his office as he did, and would not have poured out his life in the ardor of his mission, if he had not been impelled by the conviction that he was carrying to the Gentiles, a Life of God, which they had not through the ignorance that was in them. It was because a dispensation of the Gospel was committed to him, upon which depended the reception by men of the Life of the Incarnation, or their continued alienation from that Blessed Divine Life, that he was so straitened in spirit, to enlarge the bounds of his teaching, that all the Gentiles might hear, and that it was woe to him if he preached not the Gospel.

Strange preaching indeed would it have been for one, who believed that every man had the Divine Life in Christ, to address them with the trumpet call, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." No, we say, a thousand times, no; men, who preach the Gospel to a world lying in the darkness of sin and spiritual ignorance must be possessed with the truth, that it is the question of the reception of life, which Christ has commissioned His preachers to offer to man; OR of their continued alienation from this life, which is to be settled by each and every man, who is not yet born into the Kingdom of Grace, before their preaching can agree with the terms of the Lord's commission, or have the unction of the Pentecostal Day.

Dr. Craik, we are bound to say, puts together Universal Redemption by Christ and the Reception, by men, of the Divine life from Him, in a way not sustained by the tenor of the Scriptures, which open to us both of these parts of the scheme of Redemption. That Christ became incarnate and died for all men is a truth, which the Scriptures clearly teach, but that His Universal Redemption is applied to all men in the implantation of the Divine life, by virtue of the Incarnation, they do *not* teach.

"This Redemption from death, and this consequent gift of life are as extensive and as universal as the previous condemnation, which had come into the world by sin. For as the Blessed Saviour came to make an atonement for the sins of mankind, He is declared to be 'the True Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' St. John, i. 9." And again. "It is this universality of Redemption, and of the capacity of salvation, which truly entitles the Revelation of Jesus Christ to be called the Gospel or 'glad tidings of great joy to all people;' this was the description which the Angels gave of that which they came to announce, when at the birth of the Son of God they sang, 'Peace on Earth, good will to man.'"

These are the words of Dr. Craik stating the Gospel, which he propounds, in avowed opposition to that which is most generally received and taught in the Church, and how far he ignores one great class of Scripture teaching, which shows us how the Universal Redemption of Christ is made applicable to those, who receive Him, by the implantation of the Divine Life, by the Spirit, in and through the Church, we have perhaps sufficiently indicated.

There is, moreover, a confusion in his statements, between the influences of the Spirit, as they may be given to all men out of

the Christian Covenant, and the Divine Life, which is ordinarily given in and through the Covenant, as if these two were one and the same. Here, for example, is a passage, (p. 88), in which he says :

"How then is this new and Divine Life imparted? The answer to the question explains to us the reason for the Revelation to man of the adorable mystery of the Holy Trinity. As the Eternal Son became our Redeemer, Mediator and Effectual Intercessor; so, to complete the work which He began, to make effectual for our Salvation, His Sacrifice, Mediation, and Intercession, the Holy Ghost was sent to dwell in the hearts of men; to be the agent of reunion between God and man; to be the source and beginning of that new life from which comes the capacity of holiness, the power to know and love God, and to obey and love His commands. \* \* \* \* And as in the counsels of the Divine Economy, the Son was slain from the foundation of the world, that men might be pardoned and accepted for His sake, so was the gift of the Holy Ghost, the purchase of that Son's death and love, made over to mankind from the beginning, that in every man born into the world there might be a capacity for holiness and for Heaven." And again, (p. 147). "The Recognition of the great gift of God—the *Divine Life in the soul of man*—rescues that important truth, the corruption of human nature, from the unhappy connections with which it has been too often confused, and by which it has been discredited. But unless we connect with that great Scriptural truth the *universal gift* (the Italics his) through Christ, *of the spirit of life and light, to operate upon depraved humanity.*" Now what in the first part of the passage he calls "the great gift of God—the Divine Life in the soul of man—" in a few lines below he calls "the *universal gift*, through Christ, of the spirit of life and light, to operate upon depraved humanity."

These two things are not, we affirm, the same. There are many, who would concede, as a truth which they firmly believe, the *last*, who would *not* affirm that the Divine Life in the soul of man, which comes through Christ, is, in the manifest, ordinary way of Divine Dispensation, given to those, who are unbaptized and unbelieving. It would detract, in their view, from the peculiar glory of Christianity, to make this affirmation.

For the Church comes to men, under the commission of her Lord, bearing, to them, a gift from Heaven of a life, which they have not received. Men, who are dead in trespasses and sins, she calls to be quickened together with Christ, and with the Great Apostle of the Gentiles, she tells men, not that they all, but who among them are so quickened; for, "as many of you, as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ." Indeed, so high

and peculiar is the great gift of Divine Life through Christ, that, even of the saints of the old dispensation, we are told, "these all having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us, that they, without us, should not be made perfect." They had, doubtless, largely, "the Spirit of life and light to operate upon" the "depraved humanity" within them, but the gift of the Divine Life in Christ, did they have this, so that, without us, they can be made perfect? This gift was surely provided for men because they needed it, and the revealed necessity of the ordinary dispensation of it to the individuals of our race, by the administration of the Spirit in the Church, is as clear a part of the Divine Revelation, as is the Universality of the Redemption, for all mankind, by the Eternal Incarnate Son.

Another peculiarity in Dr. Craik's statements is that he utterly denies the existence of natural conscience in fallen man, (p. 93). "All of conscience that would seem to be left to mere nature by this description of the office of the Holy Spirit, (St. John xvi. 8), is simple sensibility to the impressions and monitions of the Spirit." Now, unless this sensibility includes the power of distinguishing Right from Wrong, and the idea of moral obligation, we can hardly see what there is in man for the Spirit of God to work upon. "Neither is it the part of the natural conscience to be the *guide* or the *teacher* of men," (p. 92) says Dr. Craik. "And herein do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men," saith St. Paul. And the same Apostle unequivocally asserts the action of conscience in heathen men, and supposes that they may so use it as to be a law unto themselves, and he speaks also of reason and conscience as being defiled by sin, but yet existing in those who have so misused them.

But the use is obvious which Dr. Craik makes of his assertion that, (p. 93).

"Conscience, that mysterious and transcendent power, seated in the human soul as a ruler and guide is no integral part of our fallen nature, but is the witness and voice of God Himself, dwelling in us by His Spirit, to govern and direct, yet in subordination to human will, all the *faculties* of Nature."

This is to trace all the good thoughts, feelings, and acts of men out of the pale of the Christian Church to the workings of the New Life which they have received from Christ, since these are



fruits of the Spirit in men, baptized and unbaptized, heathen and nominally Christian. They are proofs, which Dr. C. deems conclusive, of the indwelling of the Spirit in the soul of every human being that has ever lived.

On this view it is hard to see what else Human Nature would be, but a mere unspiritual scene of action, just as the natural world is the sphere of human action, in which the Spirit of God alone enacts and produces the semblances of human virtue and traits of holiness, which then would be rather self-manifestations of the Spirit through a human medium, instead of fruits of the Spirit produced from a spiritual soil capable of producing them.

But it is possible, surely, that man has a spiritual nature, the offspring of God, the Father of Spirits, which, though broken and distorted by sin, may yet show traces in its thoughts, feelings, and acts, of its original, and so the fruits may be the same in manifestation, though not in the roots from which they spring, with the fruits of the Spirit enumerated by the Apostle. They may be fragmentary, fitful, and detached from the will, and from conscious reference to God, to whom the allegiance of the spiritual nature of man is due, may be witnesses for God—witnesses, it may be, upheld and sustained by the Spirit of God operating on the spiritual nature of man,—to the reality of that spiritual nature; and yet, for all that, the men, in whom these ebullitions of their spiritual nature amid the waste of sin, are seen, may be alienated from the Life of God, through the ignorance that is in them; their wills may be, by no means, in accordance with the holy will of God; their virtues, however, in themselves, fair and acceptable in the eyes of men, may not have the roots of their permanence and true estimation before God, in the Divine Life which comes to men, from Christ, and by these virtues scattered, separated, and detached, amid much that is perverted and nigh unto ruin, in their spiritual being, no demonstration is given, that the Germ of the Life from the Incarnate Life of men, which is to take possession of the whole man in his faculties, his emotions, his conscience, his reason, and His Will, as it expands and grows, has ever been implanted

Archbishop Trench has nobly treated the subject of the relation of the Incarnate Son to all the humanity, for which He became Incarnate, in his Hulsean Lectures for 1846, the title of



which is at the head of this Article. He shows that, in all the ages before Christ there were Unconscious Prophecies of Him in the sentiments, strivings, expectations, ethical theories, hopes and fears, in the whole life, in fact, of Heathendom, and that the appearance of the Great Deliverer was the true answer to all these notes of preparation that went before His coming. He broadly and clearly distinguishes between these blind and earnest searchings; and Life and Light, when revealed and offered to men, but shows, nevertheless, the correspondence between the preparation and the fulfilment. He admits fully and explicitly all that to us it seems should be admitted of the workings of Divine Grace in those realms of Heathendom, while he assigns, to the Church, her true office in the dispensation of that grace and life, which the heathen did not know, and did not possess. "Nor can we doubt," he says, (p. 273).

"That by *that* which we with our fuller knowledge, our larger grace, are inclined to slight, many were preserved from defilements, in which otherwise they had been inevitably entangled. This salt may have been powerless to give the savor of life to that with which it came in contact; but that progress of corruption, that dissolution of social and personal life, which it was unable ultimately to arrest, it yet retarded for a time. It preserved many a man for something better than itself, and in not a few cases of which we have distinct record, handed over in due time its votaries to the school of Christ."

And then he proceeds to mention the case of St. Augustine, arrested by the *Hortensius* of Cicero, and at length made the bright and shining light in the Church which he was. And so he says again, (p. 285).

"There will mingle in these studies thoughts and feelings of a liveliest thankfulness to God, as amid the great shipwreck of the Gentile world, we recognize the planks, by which one and another attained as we trust safely, and through the mercy of a Saviour whom as yet he did not know, to the shore of everlasting life—thankfulness mingled, it may oftentimes be, with something of an wholesome shame to ourselves, as we contemplate the faithfulness and fealty to the good and true, which even in the world's darkest hour have been shown by them, whose knowledge was so little, and whose advantages so few, as compared with our own. And perhaps it shall seem to us then, as if that star in the natural heavens which guided those Eastern Sages from their distant home, was but the symbol of many a star which twinkled in the world's mystical night—but which yet, being faithfully followed, availed to lead humble and devout hearts from far off regions of superstition and error, till they knelt beside the Cradle of the Babe of Bethlehem, and saw all their weary wanderings repaid in a moment, and all their desires finding a perfect fulfilment in Him."

And nobly with regard to man's capacity for Redemption does Archbishop Trench say : (p. 193.)

"But man's divine original, his first creation in the image of God, was so firmly held fast to by all nobler spirits, that St. Paul upon the hill of Mars, could at once take his stand on this as a great meeting point between himself and his Athenian hearers—as the ground which was common to them and him." "Certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring." (Acts xvii. 28.) Here at least they were at one.

"And it is possible that we may learn a lesson which we need, or at least remind ourselves of truths which we are in danger of suffering to fall too far back in our minds, by the contemplation of those, who, amid all their errors, and darkness, and confusion, and evil, had yet a sense so deeply imprinted, a faith so lively, that man was *from* God, as well as *to* God; capable of the divine, only because himself of a divine race. Oftentimes it would seem as if our theology of the present day had almost lost sight of this, or at least held it with only too feeble a grasp; beginning, as it so often does, from the fall, from the corruption of human nature, instead of beginning a step higher up—beginning with man a liar, when it ought to have begun with man, the true image and the glory of God." And the Incarnation he declares (p. 194) "to have been grounded on the perfect fitness of man, as the image of God, of man's organs, his affections, his life, to be the utterers and exponents of all the life, yea, of all the heart of God."

The Incarnation then, *ipso facto* demonstrated, that man was capable of Redemption, and a fit subject of Redemption, and did create the capability and the fitness, of which it was the testimony.

If the Divine Life from Christ were the Gift, to all men, from His Incarnation, simply because it has occurred, it is incredible that we should not have seen larger and more manifest fruits of the workings of this Life upon individuals and upon society than we have seen; or, if the Church and the preached Word be needful to develop and perfect this Life, then the mystery is only removed a step farther back, viz: the mystery of the granting of the Life to all men, and of withholding, from such a vast majority of men, the indispensable means of turning to any account of salvation the Life they have received from Heaven.

The Sacrament of Baptism has not the place, in the scheme of Dr. Craik, which is assigned it in the offices of our Church, accordant as we believe those offices to be with the teachings of the Catholic Church from the first, and with Holy Scripture. With Dr. Craik, the Rev. F. W. Robertson agrees in his sermons on Baptism and on its relation to the Christian Life. In their view

Baptism is our incorporation with the Church, and our adoption into the family of God. It is not the beginning of the Christian life, but the sign and declaration of a life already begun and imparted by the Incarnation. It is our New Birth into the Kingdom of God, but not the commencement of life, any more than our Natural Birth is the commencement of life, for there was life before Birth. Upon this distinction Dr. Craik much insists, and would thus seem to indicate the character of that life, which all men, he says, receive from Christ by virtue of the Incarnation.

But to recur to the analogy, if it be true that there cannot be birth without precedent antenatal life, it is equally true that that blind and hidden stirring of life in the depths of the womb, is never so regarded as the beginning of our natural life, that Birth is not treated and regarded as our introduction to what is properly and in correctest use of language, the life of man, and not till Birth, is the Life reckoned to commence, and, similarly, as the judicious Hooker hath it, "We are not Christian men," that is, partakers of the Divine Life in Christ, "in the eye of the Church of God, but by new Birth, nor according to the manifest, ordinary course of Divine Dispensation, new born, but by that Baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians," so that Baptism is "the first apparent beginning of life," (or, as St. Basil has it, from whom Hooker borrows his expression, "Baptism is to me the beginning of life,") "a seal" to grace "before received," "but to our sanctification here, a step that hath not any before it."

Such is the truth stated in Scripture and in the teaching of the Catholic Church, and so Baptism is the revealed Beginning of our Life in Christ; of which sanctification is the development, and not itself a progressive step in the life conferred by the sanctifying Spirit, already begun.

The very interpretations, which those give to the formularies of the Church, who hold the latter view, is sufficient to show that it is not the Doctrine of Baptism incorporated with those formularies. Thus Mr. Robertson says:

"The Catechism, however, says: In Baptism \* \* \* \* I was *made* a child of God. Yes; coronation makes a sovereign; but paradoxical as it may seem, it can only *make* a sovereign one who is sovereign already. Crown a Pretender; that coronation will not create the King." "Coronation is the authoritative act of the Nation declaring a fact which was fact before." \* \*

\* \* \* \* \* "Similarly with Baptism. Baptism makes a child of God in the state in which coronation makes a King. And Baptism naturally stands in Scripture for the title of Regeneration and the moment of it. Only what coronation is in an earthly way, an authoritative manifestation of an invisible earthly truth, Baptism is in a heavenly way—God's authoritative declaration in material form of a spiritual reality. In other words, no bare sign, but a Divine Sacrament."

That is an inimitable piece of exposition, surely both of Scripture and of the Catechism; of the Catechism, which says, moreover, "for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are *hereby* made the children of grace,"—which teaches the child to say, "*Wherein* I was *made* a member of Christ;" and surely none are partakers of the Christ to be in them the fountain of their new life unto God, who are not "*members* of Christ." *This* Life is communicated in and through His Body, "for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one Body." And in the Baptismal office we are called upon to pray to God for the baptized, immediately upon the reception of the Holy Sacrament, "that they may lead the rest of their life according to this beginning,"—beginning of *what* we are fain to ask, if the sacrament and covenant of Baptism is not plainly here represented to be the beginning of our Christian life?

But if the Life of God conferred upon all men, according to these theories of Mr. Robertson and Dr. Craik, by the Incarnation or coming of Christ, be akin to the blind and hidden life that precedes birth, it would be little indeed accomplished for every man by the Incarnation, for the life of the womb, unless it comes to the birth, is not worthy of being counted life at all, and the New Birth, which comes through Christ, comes, according to the way of His revelation and appointment, by His Sacrament of Baptism, and hence the command to evangelize all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, thus uniting them in Christ's appointed way to Him, who is the Life and Light of men.

To maintain His commission intact, to follow it out as the ordained way of dispensing to all, who will receive it, the gift, which He, in His Universal Redemption, has provided for all, is the primal obligation of His Holy Church; and to make men members of Christ, in His Body the Church, and then to nourish

and strengthen them into the full development of the Christian life, the life, which is hid in the Christ, in God, is the appointed office of the Church, in the ministration of His Gospel, and so is His Incarnation to be applied to that purpose of the salvation of men for which He became Incarnate.

So proceeding, we are on the clear and firm ground of Divine Revelation. What God may do for those to whom Christ is not preached, among whom His Church is unknown, we have no clear ground of Revelation for determining. We may and must believe that He will deal, in justice and mercy, with all the sons of men; that the Spirit may move upon the hearts of men in the depths of Heathendom; that God will recognize every act, and thought of goodness, which is the fruit of His Spirit; we may fancy moreover, if so we are disposed, that, to those, who have not heard a preached Gospel amid these scenes of time, it may be preached in another scene of their existence; but for all such speculations, beliefs, or opinions, we can find no announcements of Divine Revelation.

But that the Gospel has been put in commission by the Incarnate Son of God, that it may be preached to all Nations, and that all, who receive Him so presented as a Divine and Personal Saviour, may obtain from Him power to become the Sons of God, this should ever stimulate us, in our vocation and Ministry in His Holy Church "to make known His way upon earth, His saving health among all nations."

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#### ART. V.—THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

1. *Handbook of the River Plate, comprising Buenos Ayres, the Upper Provinces, Banda Oriental, and Paraguay.* By M. G. and E. T. Mulhall, Editors of the Standard. In two volumes. Buenos Ayres, 1869.
2. *Pioneering in the Pampas, or the First Four Years of a Settler's Experience in the La Plata Camps.* By Richard Arthur Seymour. With a Map. 12mo. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1869.
3. *Description Géographique et Statistique de la Confédération Argentine.* Par V. Martin de Moussy, Docteur en Médecine, etc. 3 vols., 8vo. With Atlas. Paris, Didot Frères, 1860.

4. *Writings of President Sarmiento, viz:*  
*Life in the Argentine Republic*, translated by Mrs. Horace Mann. 12mo. New York, 1868.  
*De la Educacion Popular*. 8vo. Santiago, 1849.  
*Recuendos de Provincia*. 8vo. Santiago, 1850.  
*Viages en Europa, Africa i America*. 2 vols., 8vo.; 2d Edition. Santiago, 1851.  
*Las Escuelas*. 8vo. New York, 1866.  
*Observaciones con que al Poder Ejecutivo devuelve al Congress los Proyectos de Ley sobre Intervencion*. Pamphlet. Buenos Ayres, 1869.  
*Discurso del Presidente de la Republica al Cevrar las Sesiones del Congress, &c., en Octubre de 1869*. Pamphlet. Buenos Ayres, 1869.
5. *De la Instruccion Primaria en Chile*. Por Miguel Luis i Gregoris Victor Amunatequi. Obra Premiada por el Gobierno de Chile. 8vo. Santiago, 1856.
6. *Lectures Sobre la Educacion, por Horacio Mann*. Vertidas al Castellano por Juana Manso. 8vo. Buenos Ayres, 1868.

NEARLY half a century has elapsed since the Spanish States of South America achieved their independence of the mother country. The war for its attainment, resembling in its object that by which our own national existence had been won, attracted general sympathy among us; and the new States were welcomed into the family of nations by the acclamations of our people, responsive to the eloquence of Henry Clay. For a time, the interest in these young neighbors was increased by their adoption of republican institutions. But soon it appeared that their republicanism was more in name than in reality. They had copied our form of government, but they had not pursued the long and varied path by which we had attained it. To us, the election of representatives, and acquiescence in their legislation, had been familiar for ages; to the Spanish and Indian inhabitants of South America these were novelties, which neither reasoning nor habit had taught them to defend as rights, nor to observe as duties. In the new republics, therefore, elections were decided as frequently by the sword as by the ballot. The civil war, which had just closed, had left numbers of ambitious soldiers to become aspirants for office; and even if their ambition was tempered by patriotic intentions, they were in many cases too ignorant to know the true

method by which these should be carried into effect. In every political rival they saw, not an opponent to be outvoted, but an enemy to be subdued; and neither leaders nor followers thought of waiting for the day of election, when they had arms in their hands. Their republicanism was but sufficient to prevent any successful leader from acquiring in the public mind, "that divinity that doth hedge a King." Each successive ruler was but a President, and a President by an election so irregular, as to furnish a pretence for insurrection to whoever was dissatisfied with his measures, or ambitious for his place. Thus, whatever may have been the ability and integrity which labored to bring order out of the chaos, yet to the view of distant spectators, like ourselves, South America appeared the scene of constant rebellious revolutions and usurpations. After the first great man, the Liberator, Bolivar, there seemed, as Wordsworth said of revolutionary Fame,

"Perpetual emptiness, unceasing change!  
No single volume paramount, no code,  
No master spirit, no determined road,  
But equally a want of books and men."

Probably in our distant survey of so wide a field, we failed to do justice to the true and enlightened patriots, such men as San Martin and Rivadavia. Under the guidance of these, and warned rather than guided by the dread light of revolutionary times, as by the glare of the volcanoes of their own Andes, arose a second generation, more familiar than their predecessors with the idea of the republic, and better qualified to fulfil the duties which that idea imposes.

Of the books whose titles we have given, the first is a book published in Buenos Ayres for the information of immigrants, and of those especially,—British subjects,—who are disposed to settle in South America. The first volume is devoted to the Argentine Republic; the same country will furnish the subject in part of the second volume; the remainder being occupied with Uruguay, or the Banda Oriental ("Eastern shore" of the La Plata) and Paraguay. The population of the Argentine Republic, we are told, exceeds a million and a half; the country, mostly an immense plain, is divided into fourteen provinces, of which that of Buenos Ayres is by far the wealthiest and most populous, while Entre Rios, Cor-



dova and San Juan, are among the other most advanced States. The natural advantages of the country are described in strong terms.

"There is, probably, no country on the face of the earth so favored by nature; being entirely situated in the South temperate zone, it enjoys a delightful climate, and the soil is so varied and fertile that it produces almost spontaneously all the great staples of home consumption and foreign commerce. Cotton, wheat, tobacco, yerba-maté (Paraguay tea,) cochineal, wine, coffee, silk, sugar, wool, and fruits of every kind may be raised of a superior quality, and in such abundance as to supply less-favored nations. The mineral resources of the country are hardly less important: coffee, silver, lead, salt, marble, limestone, granite, and coal are found in various places, and only require proper management and improved means of transit to become sources of national wealth. The country is, moreover, magnificently wooded and watered: the Gran Chaco (the wild country on the west of Paraguay,) possesses more timber, suitable for every purpose, than the whole of Europe, and the number and extent of navigable rivers are quite equal to the natural greatness and future requirements of a republic, destined one day to rival the Colossus of North America."

These great resources are, however, comparatively undeveloped.

"There is a sad contrast between what La Plata might be, and what it actually is. It does not export one bale of cotton; its tobacco is unknown; rice is a foreign commodity; yerba-maté, from Brazil, excludes that from Corrientes; cochineal abounds in Oran, but is not worth the freight; Mendoza wine has no market, for the same reason; coffee is considered too troublesome; the spiders of Corrientes weave a fine silk, which no one thinks of gathering; sugar is hardly cultivated; fruits are unprized, and our export returns show but three great staples in the Republic,—wool, hides, and tallow." (*Hand-book*, page 4.)

The government of the Republic directs its attention to the development of native industry; but for its future progress, the country looks also to the influx of foreigners, attracted by its fertile soil and temperate climate. Already immigration has taken place to an extent which promises well for the future. The new settlers are of various nations.

"The foreign population of the Province of Buenos Ayres is estimated at 250,000, distributed as follows: Italians, 70,000; Basques, 40,000; French, 30,000; Spaniards, 30,000; Irish, 30,000; English and Scotch, 10,000; Germans, 10,000; other nationalities, 30,000. This large number of foreigners, forming half the population of the Province of Buenos Ayres, is remarkable; and the foreigner, upon landing, is agreeably astonished to find himself in the midst of a large society of his countrymen. Amongst Argentines

of the respectable classes, proficiency in foreign languages is considered a necessary qualification; thus, the greater part of the merchants speak English or French." (Page 14.)

The following extract relates to the natives of that wonderful little island, which seems capable of filling the rest of the world without emptying itself.

"The Irish, though exercising little or no weight in public matters, may contend with any other nationality in point of usefulness."

"To them is due the great development of sheep-farming, which makes this country rival Australia in the growth of wool. The Irish farmers are estimated to possess nearly 30,000,000 sheep; they are also, as farmers, the chief landed proprietors in Buenos Ayres, and very hospitable to strangers. The districts of Liyan, Mercedes, Pilar, Areco, Lobos, &c., are thickly settled with Irishmen, and each district has its own Irish clergyman. With one or two exceptions, the Irish settlers began life (within the last thirty years,) having no other capital than a spade or shovel. There is nothing in the country more admirable than the steady industry of these men, some of whom count their sheep by the hundred thousand, and have landed property of thousands of acres in extent. In the city there is a large number of Irish housemaids, who are remarkable for their uniform morality, honesty and good conduct." (Page 15.)

Of the general spirit of the book before us, the following advice to immigrants presents a good example.

"New arrivals should be careful about roaming through the streets after 11 P. M., although the city is more quiet and orderly than most large towns. Above all things, beware of intoxication, and keep out of the Policia. In the coffee-houses, never make any offensive remarks about the country; it would be ill-breeding, and many of those around you are sure to understand English. If you meet a religious procession, either turn into the next street, or take off your hat and stand till it passes by. If any one ask you for a light for his cigar, present yours to him politely. Remember, always, that politeness and equality are the rule of the country, and act up to it." (Page 168.)

The little book, called "*Pioneering in the Pampas*," presents the experience of an English settler, during four years' residence in the country. The result of that experience, as summed up in the last few pages, is such as might be expected from a man of industry and spirit, settling in a country of great natural advantages, but where all was new, and public affairs in an unsettled condition. The location of the party was near Frayle Muerto, in the Province of Cordova, and about three hundred miles from Buenos Ayres.

"Notwithstanding our losses and discouragements, I see no reason to despair of our success; and, *provided*, the Government will defend their frontiers from the Indians, I can still encourage others to come and settle in our neighborhood. Where will they find pastures of so fine quality to be purchased at so low a price; with a fine climate, and many of their fellow-countrymen within easy reach; with a line of railroad, too, about thirty miles off, and a post, by four mails, monthly to England, of five weeks only from our little town to London? All that is wanted is our protection from the Indians. We have shown our trust in the Government by staking our fortunes in their country. We believe, that with the return of peace they will think it their plain duty to grant us this protection. We have great confidence in the newly-elected President, Señor Sarmiento, and we cannot believe, that with the power to help us, he will do us the injustice to leave us longer in our helpless condition." (*Pioneering in the Pampas*," page 180.)

The "Description" by De Moussy is a work of higher scientific character. It is the result of a residence of eighteen years in the region of the La Plata, the author having gone thither under the patronage of the French government, and having undertaken this especial work at the instance of the Argentine authorities. The task was indeed, as it is well expressed, "to construct a sort of general encyclopædia of the Rio de la Plata;" and in its execution, while the author speaks modestly of his success, it has certainly been highly honorable to himself, and advantageous to those interested in the countries he describes. The book is dedicated to General Urquiza, President of the Republic at the time of its publication; and the author manifests repeatedly his admiration of that distinguished man. At present, Urquiza, though still exercising a commanding influence in his own province of Entre Rios, is withdrawn from the control of national affairs. The fall of his administration was hastened by errors of his own, as well as by the excited state of the country he ruled, and the immature condition of its institutions; but notwithstanding this, his name will occupy an honorable place in the history of his country, as the leader of her rescue from the tyranny of Rosas.

To Señor Sarmiento, now President of the Argentine Republic, we are indebted for the works which come next upon our list; the first originally, like the others, published in Spanish, but presented in the English language, and enriched with a memoir of its author, by the honored widow of one who "being dead, yet speaketh," through the influence of his example and teaching on this

South American statesman. In this book, contrary to the common arrangement, the *Life* of the author is placed after his own work ; and it is best so ; for the reader could not understand the influences which surrounded President Sarmiento in early life, the difficulties and dangers he encountered, and the task which has been and still is before him, without the knowledge of his country's calamitous history. Before, therefore, we speak of him individually, we will present, from his own writings and from other sources, a brief account of the political changes which preceded his appearance as a prominent soldier and statesman.

The government of Spain over her colonies was marked, it is well known, by narrow jealousy and careful suppression of whatever might give them independent importance. Yet the revolution, which separated them from Spain, began, at least in the instance of Buenos Ayres, in the interest of Spanish loyalty. The Viceroy Iiniers, though himself a Frenchman, sent back the messenger who brought him orders in the name of Joseph Bonaparte, and for a time it appeared that the province would be faithful to the endangered throne of Ferdinand VII. But there was little in Ferdinand or his family, to win the love of his distant subjects ; there was no power to enforce their obedience ; and the people of Buenos Ayres, having exercised their freedom in choosing their sovereign, soon exercised it again in rejecting him. On the ninth of July, 1816, the independence of the province was declared by the Congress assembled at Tucuman.

But revolutions beget revolutions. If Buenos Ayres could revolt against Spain, Montevideo could as well revolt against Buenos Ayres. It was subdued, but dissension broke out among the victors. Rondeau, the Supreme Director of Buenos Ayres, was opposed, and at length beaten and displaced by Artigas, who had made himself master of Montevideo. In this man came into view the first of a class, beneath whose ignorant ferocity the region of the La Plata was destined long to suffer, the "caudillos" or chiefs of the wild cavalry of the pampas.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to trace all the ephemeral changes of the government, of which there were twenty in the fifteen months preceding February, 1821. Two parties soon became marked, exhibiting those tendencies with which we are familiar here, the centripetal and the centrifugal. Those who desired the

unity of the country under a strong central government were known as Unitarios, and those who preferred a federation among provinces otherwise independent, took the name of Federalistas. The strength of the former lay in the cities, especially in Buenos Ayres; and it ranked among its members most of the cultivated classes, to whom law and order were more attractive than unlimited freedom. On the other hand, the Federal party, its name meaning precisely the opposite to what it did in the United States, included the greater part of the country population, jealous of the ascendancy of the capital, and strangers to its manners. The employment of these people being chiefly the raising of cattle, their life was to a great extent nomadic. Their young men, almost living on horse-back, formed a wild cavalry militia, under such leaders as strength and speed, boldness in action and a rough heartiness of manner entitled to rule over them.

In 1826, the Unitarios were in power, under the Presidency of Rivadavia; but unable to carry out his measures, he resigned, and the Federalists gained the ascendancy. The interior provinces suffered under the tyranny of such partisan leaders as Facundo Quiroga and the Monk Aldao, both born to scourge mankind, but the latter a revolting compound of sensuality and cruelty, with military talent, the ineffaceable mask of the clerical profession adding to the whole a ghastly stain. The doctors of Cordova disputed learnedly whether a wafer, which this wretch consecrated for himself, when abject fear had driven him back to the exercise of his early office, had indeed become the body of the Lord. A far nobler leader of the Federalists was Dorrego, who held sway at Buenos Ayres; and it was in an evil hour for his country and for his own fame, that Lavalle, who wrested his power from him, caused him to be put to death. After long struggles, the rule remained in the hands of Juan Manuel Rosas, who had been manager of estates for the Dorrego Family. This man, while he compelled his countrymen to wear the motto, "Death to the savage Unitarios," went far beyond that party in ferocity, while he deserted the principles of his own by concentrating all power in the State of Buenos Ayres. He deprived the other provinces of all freedom of commerce, made barbarism triumphant over civilization in the capital, and in a stormy rule of fifteen years, sacrificed numbers of the best citizens to his ambition and revenge. Mean-

time, the Unitarios party, with its old ideas of entire centralization, had ceased to exist; but in its place was formed one composed of those who detested the tyranny of Rosas, and wished to see their country reorganized as a true confederate republic, in which the centripetal and centrifugal forces should be rightly balanced, on the model of the United States. Of those who held such views, many were in exile; and of these, the chief place of refuge was Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay in the Oriental Republic, with which Rosas was at war.

In the mean time, the province of Entre Rios, ("between the rivers," Parana and Uruguay,) had advanced in prosperity and civilization under the firm and enlightened government of Don Jose Urquiza. While rendering important services in the war waged by the Dictator Rosas as chief of the nation, Urquiza had welcomed to his province political refugees from the tyranny that reigned at Buenos Ayres. At length, the pretensions of Rosas to absolute power, and his persistent refusal to call a general Congress of the provinces, aroused the Governor of Entre Rios to decided action. He formed an alliance with Brazil and with Uruguay; the province withdrew the powers it had entrusted to the Dictator; the neighboring province of Corrientes united in the effort; and Sarmiento, and other noble exiles, hastened to place themselves under the banner of Urquiza.

The first undertaking of that chief was to raise the siege of Montevideo. In this he was at once successful, being hailed as a mediator by all parties in Uruguay. Oribe, Rosas' lieutenant, unable to resist, submitted to terms, by which the Argentine army under his command was transferred to that of Urquiza, who thus closed in three months, without shedding a drop of blood, a war of ten years duration. In the treaty of peace, the successful general inserted the words, "There are among the Orientals neither conquerors nor conquered."

The army now, aided by the Brazilian fleet, advanced to the deliverance of Buenos Ayres. At the battle of Monte Caseros, February 3d, 1852, where 25,000 men were engaged on each side, the troops of the Dictator after some hours' fighting, laid down their arms, and Rosas himself fled in disguise, and found refuge on board a British vessel. In this battle, Domingo Sarmiento, who had come from his long exile to take part in the deliverance of



his country, served as Colonel and Chief of the staff; and, after the contest, had the satisfaction of writing the bulletin which proclaimed to the world the fall of Rosas, "upon the tyrant's own table, with the tyrant's own pen." (*Life in the Argentine Republic*, page 359.)

We must now pause in our record of events, to give an account of the earlier history of this eminent man, who now holds the presidency of the Republic.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, was born in 1811, in San Juan, the capital of the province of the same name, lying near the base of the Andes. His family was of good descent, but in very reduced circumstances; his father had been brought up to manual labor, but despising it, declared, that his son should never handle a spade, and "passed his whole life in beginning speculations whose products were scattered in badly counselled moments." The standing of the family, however, and the character of the boy, were saved by the energy and prudence of the mother. The youth received in his native place the instructions of a teacher, of whom he spoke in later life with affectionate respect; and afterwards at San Luis, those of his uncle, the clergyman, Don José de Oro. Returning home, he became apprentice in a store, but his love of study continued, and his spare moments were given to reading. His books were well selected; but a lady who saw him busy with them, day after day, as she passed the shop, remarked, with a shake of her head, "That lad cannot be good; if those books were good, he would not read them so eagerly."

At sixteen, being then ensign of militia, a defiance, more spirited than wise, of what he considered unjust authority, occasioned his imprisonment. Shortly after, he enlisted with the Unitarios in an insurrection against Facundo Quiroga, and was soon engaged in the excitement and the perils of civil war. Obligated to conceal himself during the ascendancy of the murderous Friar Aldao, he improved his leisure by studying French. Afterwards he escaped to Chili, where he in succession taught school, kept shop, and superintended the working of a mine, borrowing hours meanwhile from the night to study English.

In 1836, he returned to San Juan, with health, bodily and mental, impaired by over-work. He soon, however, took an active part in measures for the advancement of education and the spread



of intelligence. A periodical which he established, drew upon him the persecution of the government. Narrowly escaping with life, he was sent into exile; but before he went wrote on a wall with a piece of charcoal his farewell, in the words, "*On ne tue pas les idées!*"

Again taking refuge in Chili, he was received with respect and cordiality by the government of that country, and conducted for a time a public journal. In 1841, however, when an insurrection had been organized against the tyranny of Rosas, he set out on his return, to join his fellow-patriots. With labor and danger he had crossed the Andes, when "he and his little party saw afar off, like blots upon the interminable wastes of snow, groups of fleeing soldiers." Their partisans had been defeated by the government forces, and the fugitives must be assisted promptly, or hundreds would perish. Instantly Sarmiento recrossed the mountains, running down their western side without resting from his ascent; he despatched laborers to the aid of his countrymen, wrote to the Chilean government, and to all to whom he could individually appeal for aid, and sent an article to the paper he had lately conducted, to awaken the compassion of the country. His efforts were not in vain. "In three days, sufficient food, medicines, physicians, etc., etc., for a thousand men, were on their way over the giant heights." (Page 344.)

He now resumed his newspaper, and by its means, brought before the minds of the Chilean people the importance of general education. He suggested the new idea of common schools supported by taxation; he prepared and published school-books; and, in 1842, "founded the first Normal School that was opened on this side of the Atlantic;" which for three years, he personally directed. His efforts met with opposition, such as noble efforts always encounter; and it well nigh deprived him of reason; but he was sustained and restrained, saved from others and from himself, by the constant friendship and wise forbearance of the minister, Don Manuel Montt, and other noble Chileans. By the advice and influence of these, he was commissioned by the Chilean government to visit other countries for the purpose of observing their educational institutions. Leaving Chili about the end of the year 1845, he visited the principal countries of Europe, conferring everywhere with distinguished men and making extensive observa-

tions. In England he read a reprint of Horace Mann's Report of his educational tour in Europe; and afterwards visiting the United States, sought out the author, and formed with him that friendship to which we are indebted for the labor of Mrs. Mann upon the volume before us. He then returned to Chili, and devoted himself again to literary labor, for the good of his adopted country, and of that from which he was still an exile.

He now published his travels (*viajes*), and his report upon Popular Education. The former of these is written in a lively style, and gives minute accounts of many interesting incidents of travel. The report (*De la Educacion Popular*) contains full accounts of his observations in Europe and the United States, arranged under the heads of The School Tax, (*La Renta*), Inspection of Public Schools, The Education of Women, Teachers, Infant Schools, (*Salas de Asilo*), Public Schools, System of Teaching, and Spanish Orthography. The work closes with the Bill respecting Education, introduced into the Legislature of Chili, in August, 1849, by Don Manuel Montt, as the result of the information collected by his friend.

In 1850 appeared the "Country Recollections," (*Recuerdos de Provincia*), a work of autobiography and family history, which cannot be fully understood nor justified without reference to the circumstances under which it was written. The author was in exile from his native land; and though enjoying the home and friends that his character and talents had gained him in Chili, he was the object of constant abuse on the part of the government of Rosas at Buenos Ayres. He says himself that in thirty official notes which had been published, his name had appeared with such epithets as infamous, unclean, vile and savage. To such abuse he replied by exhibiting the record of his life, by unveiling the humble, but pure and virtuous home from which he sprung, by tracing his genealogy to names honored in the past, and by recounting the acts of manly effort and patriotic devotion, which had gained him the hostility of the oppressors of his country. From this book is derived the charming account, in his Memoir by Mrs. Mann, of the home in San Juan,—of the mother who presided there, with her constant industry and her honorable pride in poverty,—and of the amusing contest between the spirit of improvement and the memory

of the past, in deciding upon the fate of the two old pictures in the parlor, and of the old fig-tree in the garden.

At length the hour of deliverance struck. Sarmiento, with other Argentine refugees in Chili, made the voyage around Cape Horn to join the army of Urquiza, and took, as we have seen, a distinguished part in the operations which resulted in the expulsion of the tyrant Rosas.

It is too often the case that he who has done service to his country by expelling a despotic ruler, desires himself to be the despot. At least the suspicion of such a purpose is almost of necessity incurred, for a nation at such a crisis requires the guidance of a strong hand; and a strong government is readily charged with criminal ambition. Such a charge was soon made against General Urquiza; and was the more credited in Buenos Ayres, because that province found itself reduced to an equality with the others, which it had lately ruled. The result was that Buenos Ayres separated itself from the confederacy. The other provinces reorganized the constitution which Rosas had overthrown, and elected Urquiza as the first constitutional president.

Sarmiento, after an impressive warning to Urquiza, of the consequences of the course which he thought that chief was pursuing, withdrew from public affairs, and returned to Chili. He afterwards took up his residence in Buenos Ayres, assumed the editorship of the "*Nacional*," and labored to advance the cause of education in that province. His views were aided by the publication by the Chilian Government, in 1856, of the volume on Primary Instruction, a prize essay, which, though bearing other names, is so much the result of his labors that it may be regarded as substantially his work. In 1857, he was appointed Director of the Schools of Buenos Ayres, and was also made Councillor of the Municipality. After many difficulties and much opposition encountered, he succeeded in the establishment of schools after the model of the best in this country. A beautiful building was erected, for a Model School, and provided with furniture and apparatus from the United States; and before long, seventeen thousand children were receiving public instruction in the city. Being now elected senator of the province, he procured the erection, at public expense, of other school-houses throughout its territory, and the adoption of other measures of reform and improvement. Under his superin-

tendence and through his efforts, in five years, not less than seventy schools were established.

Urquiza now undertook the forcible reunion of Buenos Ayres with the Argentine Confederacy.

Having defeated General Mitré at Cepeda, he advanced on the city. The Senate were saved from making peace on degrading conditions, by the firmness and eloquence of Sarmiento; but the object of reunion was accomplished, and the reconciled patriots embraced each other in the presence of thousands of their countrymen. Only a year after, however, disturbances again took place, and Urquiza was defeated on the banks of the Pavon by Mitré, who thereupon succeeded him in the presidency.

This last contest had been connected with civil commotions in San Juan; and after the action at Pavon, Sarmiento was placed in command of the force sent for the pacification of his native province. He entered it, after twenty-two years of exile, at the head of a victorious army. His arrival was hailed with joy; he was elected Governor of the province; and by successful military operations combined with wise civil government, put down the disturbers of order, and restored prosperity to the home of his youth. He initiated at San Juan improvements similar to those he had introduced at Buenos Ayres. In 1864, he laid, in his native city the foundation of a noble edifice, the "Sarmiento School." In the erection of this, the whole community joined, "some by the produce of their farms and other labors, the ladies by theatrical exhibitions, concerts, fairs, and many liberal men by their money. It was erected within the ruins of an abandoned Church." (*Life in the Argentine Republic*, page 311. Note.) He soon after resigned the office of Governor of San Juan, to serve his country as its representative to the governments of Chili, Peru, and the United States.

While minister to this country, Col. Sarmiento wrote for his own people, his "Life of Abraham Lincoln," and "The Schools, the Basis of the Prosperity of the United States." This work, though in the Spanish language, was printed in New York; but nearly the whole edition, of a thousand copies, was destroyed by fire, while stored in the Government House at Buenos Ayres. We have before us one of the few copies which escaped the flames. We recognize in its frontispiece the well-known statue of Horace Mann, as it stands in front of the State House of Massachusetts; and

among its leading contents we find a life of that distinguished philanthropist, a full account of the session of the American Institute of Instruction, in August, 1865, and notices of the "Freedmen's Aid Society," and of schools for the instruction of the people of color.

In General Mitré, who succeeded Urquiza, the Republic possessed a President of literary accomplishments, as shown in his "Life of Belgrano," of military skill, and of attractive personal qualities. The greatest trial which the country endured during his administration was that of the Paraguayan war. This contest, however, in which the President, at one period, commanded the allied forces, had at least the good effect of removing to a distant scene some of those fiery spirits whose presence at home might have led to new disturbances. Some such indeed took place; and the frontiers, left comparatively unprotected by the withdrawal of the army for distant service, were harassed by incursions of the Indians. President Mitré, however, retained his power through the term for which he had been chosen; and at its close, gave way to his successor by an orderly election.

It was while residing here as Minister of the Argentine Republic, that Col. Sarmiento received the high distinction of being elected to its Presidency. On his return to enter upon that office, which he now holds, he found his country engaged in the war already spoken of—a strife in which he has had cause to mourn the death of his only son, a youth of unusual promise. The new President was not responsible for that strife; but he considered the course his country had adopted to be just and necessary; and he has maintained with good faith the obligations which had been contracted towards her allies, Brazil and Uruguay. His government, at home, has not been without that opposition which every energetic and upright ruler must encounter; but thus far he has been sustained by the well-won confidence of his fellow-citizens.

President Sarmiento had not been long in office, when he was called on for the exercise of that firm control, which is as much the duty of a magistrate in a republic as in a monarchy. The Governor of one of the Provinces had, in the spirit of those ruder times when the will of a Quiroga, or an Aldao, was the law of the land, imprisoned the Legislature, because they would not accept an ordinance of his, prescribing the mode of election. The Con-

stitution, as in the United States, guaranteed a republican government to every Province; and in conformity with this provision, the President reversed the action of the provisional despot, and set free his prisoners. The action in itself was too evidently just and right to be directly censured; but the opposition felt or affected alarm at the interference of the general government with that of a province; and two "projects of laws" were passed by the National Congress, and submitted to the President for his signature, confining within narrow limits the right of such intervention. His reply which is given in one of the Pamphlets before us, is alike courteous, calm and forcible. He assigns his reasons for refusing to sanction the proposed restrictions. The rights of the Executive he says, are to be defined, not by a coördinate branch of the Government, but by the Constitution alone; nor would it be right to limit, by strict enactment a power whose exercise might be required on a sudden emergency, and under circumstances which could not be foreseen. His firmness prevailed, and the Congress, relinquishing its ill-advised action, left unimpaired to the Chief Magistrate the power of protecting life and liberty from provincial tyrants.

Of the state of education in South America, and especially in the Argentine Republic, we have, in the volumes before us, and in letters of President Sarmiento, which we have been permitted to read, accounts strangely blended, of destitution, and of hopeful, but irregular progress. In Chili, as late as 1832, we are told a criminal was condemned to teach school, as he might have been to labor on the public works. (*Life in the Argentine Republic*, page 348—note.) The census of 1854, in the same country, gave a population of 1,439,120, of whom 1,255,222 were unable to read. In the public and private schools there were then 28,822 children; a small proportion to 606,810, the number given as below the age of fifteen. (*De la Instruccion Primaria*, page 271.) These figures are not encouraging; but the same volume from which they are taken,—itself a proof of the interest felt in education among the governing class in the republic—gives us the following anecdote, indicating the spirit which influences some devoted teachers, and the success which such a spirit must attain.

"A league from the city of Los Andes rises a group of houses around a chapel. This little place is known by the name of San Rafael. The municipality of the department determined, in 1853, upon the establishment of a school at this point, and named a young man, called Santos Torres, as its teacher, with a salary of twelve dollars a month. The school opened with a single pupil; and a month passed without the addition of any other. When the teacher came for his pay, the authorities exhibited dissatisfaction with the small result of the school. Torres, as if he took the blame on himself refused to receive a single real of his salary. Another month passed, and the pupils did not increase; the authorities resolved to close the school. The young teacher then asked permission to try a last effort to excite interest in the families around. The next Sunday he was present at the mass which was celebrated in the chapel of San Rafael. At the time when the faithful were retiring, he came forward into the midst of them and began to speak to them with the earnestness of conviction about the deserted school, the money spent upon it without result, the advantages of primary instruction, and the determination formed by the authorities to close the school if no more pupils came. The neighbors heard Torres with attention; at the invitation of the speaker they all went to visit the school-house. In it the young preceptor continued the exhortation he had commenced in the chapel. The parents were moved, and, in fact, more than thirty children were entered on the list of pupils. This was in the month of April; in August following, the municipal school of San Rafael counted sixty pupils, according to the bulletin of this month, sent to the office of Public Instruction."—(*De la Instruccion Primaria*, page 317.)

In the Argentine Republic, according to the statements of De Moussy (vol. II. pp. 633-635,) who left the country in 1859, there were in all the centres of population, primary schools, in which were taught reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic and grammar, with lessons of a religious and moral character; a price being paid by those who were able to afford it. Schools of a higher grade, in which Latin, French and English were taught, existed in the principal cities; and at the head of the system were the universities of Cordova and Buenos Ayres. By the efforts of Sarmiento and others, as we have in part seen, education has been made more directly a charge of the state, and numerous school-houses have been erected. We find in the "Hand-book" such statements as the following:

"San Fernando includes a number of fertile islands, in what is called the Delta of the Paraná. . . . The inhabitants, of course, go about in boats, and there is a school, attended by one hundred children, who travel every day in the same manner."—(*Hand-book*, Section C, page 23).



"San Andres de Giles is a poor little hamlet, with 950 inhabitants, almost destitute of trade or agriculture. . . . The Church is new, and there is a State school, attended by thirty-eight boys and thirty-five girls."—(Page 42).

"Moron is one of the most important stations on the Western Railway, distant about fourteen miles west of the city of Buenos Ayres. . . . The Juzgado (Court House) and free-schools are elegant and commodious public buildings."—(Pages 80–81).

"Mercedes . . . is one of the best towns in the camp (or colony, settled principally by Irish immigrants). The State school was built in 1866. . . . It has a fine front, supported by six Doric columns, and surmounted by a balustrade, with a dozen vases of terra-cotta; the boys' school is on the right, and the girls' on the left, each accommodating two hundred pupils; the wings are respectively occupied by the master and mistress, and have nice suites of rooms. Sr. Maldonado has conducted the boys' school for ten years, with the utmost satisfaction. It will agreeably surprise the stranger to find the State schools of this and the other camp-towns so comfortable and neatly furnished, and the appearance of the children so orderly and respectable." (Pages 94–95.)

On the other hand, President Sarmiento writes, under date of November 12th, 1869.

"What would you say if I should send you all that has been written to me by the German Director of a College which I have had opened in ——. It has 70,000 inhabitants, (Guichuas in origin and language,) and in the capital, the only city, eighty pupils of the white class who were presented by the first families, were not prepared to receive lessons, from not knowing well enough how to read and write! All the professors have concluded to open a primary school, and set to work to teach reading!"

This however is not unlike what sometimes happens in our Western States, where a grave theologian from the East, who has been complimented with the title of President of a College, finds on his arrival at the scene of his learned labors, that no part of the University is yet organized excepting the Preparatory school.

Another part of the same letter is more encouraging. Of his native city he writes:

"In 1863, I found in San Juan 5000 children in the schools. This year the report gives 5000; and as I offered a premium of \$10,000 to the province which should count one child in the schools for each ten inhabitants, San Juan undertook to obtain it, enrolling 7000 in those two months for 60,000 inhabitants, fulfilling the condition."

In a letter written shortly before, on the first anniversary of his inauguration as President, Señor Sarmiento takes a brief survey of

the year that had passed; and while he speaks of difficulties and opposition encountered, he still manifests encouragement.

"The law for the creation of the Astronomical Observatory has finally passed;"—"All the projects of law which I have presented to a congress which had been previously formed, have been sanctioned, and are now laws, with the estimate of expenses as I presented them. The country is tranquil. Urquiza is with me, and all in appearance goes on well." "In matters of education I have succeeded sufficiently, and in many other respects I have no great reasons to be discontented." "I have two Normal schools in process of formation." "I hope to have another year of work, with more tranquility to consecrate myself to education."

At the same time the President addressed to the Congress his message of prorogation, which also lies before us. In this he congratulates his countrymen, as the first year of his administration closes, upon the general peace and prosperity, the virtual close of the Paraguayan war, the advancement of the great interests of education, and the unanimity of sentiment prevailing on all subjects of public importance. "The truth is," he says:

"That there is now no question on which a rational difference of opinion exists; no problem which seriously affects the public interests, agitates our minds; nothing of a personal character brings with it any consequence of importance." Under these favorable circumstances, he may well express the hope, that in the coming year they "may equally rejoice in new progress, intellectual and material, and in the advance of the national institutions, alike in spirit and in practice."

Among the means which President Sarmiento has employed to interest his people in education, has been the diffusion among them of the writings of the American Scholar in whose steps he has followed. Thus there have appeared, in the "*Anals de la Educacion*," published in Buenos Ayres, the "*Lectures on Education*" by Horace Mann, translated by Señora Manso. These are now in a separate volume, accompanied by President Sarmiento's Memoir of his friend.

In pursuance of his great object, the President has sought teachers, male and female, in the United States. Several have already sailed for Buenos Ayres; and an agent of the Government, is authorized to employ others.

We trust that under the guidance of the remarkable man, to whom his fellow-countrymen look up with a confidence as honora-

ble to themselves as it is to him, the Argentine Republic will continue rapidly its course of improvement. The Paraguayan war ended, and the name of the President honored in the neighboring states of Chili, Uruguay and Brazil, there is every ground to hope that the great Confederacy of the Southern Hemisphere may enjoy, for many years, that peace which is important alike for the development of its material resources, and for the advancement of its people in all that constitutes the true glory of a nation.

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#### ART. VII.—S. ATHANASIUS THE GREAT.

THE old world, which was dying in S. Athanasius' days, had one distinguished representative of its weakness and decay in Constantine's son, whom we are now to meet as the Emperor Constantius. He had, at first, only the East in his third of the Empire, but before long, he was sole Emperor, having inherited his father's vices, but not his greatness.

Arianism now became the fashion of the court, and it was not difficult to persuade the Emperor of the East that one word, and one man, its bigoted defender, were the causes of all contention; and Athanasius must, by any means, be put out of the way; deposed, it was said, by a council of the Church. He had returned to Alexandria while still bound by the sentence. A great Church was to be dedicated at Antioch with exceeding splendor. The imperial father had erected the Church, and the imperial son called a multitude of Bishops to the consecration. Ninety came. Antioch was the Arian centre, and the Eusebians flocked thither in great numbers. They must put forth a creed, since the *ὁμολόγιον* in that of Nice was an insuperable rock in their way. But that Creed was accepted throughout Christendom as the old and apostolic faith, and they could not openly attack it. *Ὁμολόγιος*, however, was not a "scriptural expression," so by ambiguous words they deceived the people who accepted their teachers for what they seemed to be, and kept the faith which those teachers had lost. At this time, therefore, even more directly than before, came up the question which is the ruling one throughout Athanasius' life, what a Christian man's faith truly is. The result of those Arian

and Eusebian efforts was that their little company at Antioch succeeded in making four Creeds. In the end they far exceeded that number. Leaving out the *ὁμοοβσιος* as a needless cause of contention, they drew their creeds so much like the Nicene as to satisfy the people, while they explained its other expressions to satisfy themselves.

Very different is S. Athanasius' rest in a faith, once for all revealed, and then embodied in the Nicene Creed, to be the unchangeable trust of every Christian man; and very touching and eloquent is his explanation how any words could be used regarding such high mysteries. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!"

"The more I endeavored to write and to force myself to understand the Divinity of the Eternal Word, so much the more did that knowledge escape me. When I thought that I apprehended it, I then perceived myself to fail of doing so. And what I seemed to understand, I could not express in words; and what I wrote was unequal to the imperfect shadow of the truth which was in my mind. \* \* \* But lest I should disappoint you, and, by my silence, lead others wrong who are given to disputation, I have written briefly. *For although it is impossible to comprehend what God is, yet it is possible to say what He is not*; and to condemn the assertion of the wicked, and say, that he is not such."

Athanasius' days of peace, with which our last Article concluded, were very few. Not three years passed before he was surrounded by darkness and storms from which he rarely emerged, and only for a little while, until perpetual light was almost ready to dawn upon him.

If it was in A. D. 338 that he returned to Alexandria, and if, as is probable, he made two voyages to Italy about this time, it was in A. D. 339 he set sail for Rome. For such was the state of things under Constantius, that he had no hope of any fair judgment in the East. But under a more equitable ruler of the West, and with a Bishop of Rome disposed towards justice, there was more expectation of an impartial hearing.

New charges had been heaped upon the old. One wearied of hearing them. Yet how can we otherwise appreciate our Bishop's position? The gift of corn which the late Emperor had bestowed upon the widows of the second city of his Empire, had been kept, it was said by Athanasius for himself. And this was charged against

him, over whose remains that funeral eulogium was pronounced which concluded our last Article, in the midst of weeping widows and orphans to whom he had ever been a father and a brother.

Another charge brings to our eyes one of the most glorious beams of light which illumine the Church of these days. Tender and merciful like her Lord, in the brief days of her triumph before the world, she sought no requital for her infinite wrongs. Let us think of the horrors of the Diocletian Persecution; let us think what maimed, distorted forms made their way through the streets of Alexandria; let us call to mind that Christian men had *human* hearts in these days, and then ask ourselves why no act of retaliation was ever known. But the Eusebians felt what they would do in their day of power, and thought all men like themselves. So they accused Athanasius of imprisoning and beating the Arias, whose cause they were everywhere making their own. And very full of Christian love is the answer of the Bishop of Egypt:

“Chains and death are *alien to the Spirit of our Church*. Athanasius never exiled any, nor gave any one to the executioner. Our Churches are sanctified by the blood of Christ alone.”

The thread of Athanasius' life now becomes more and more tangled. Unravelled, it seems to run thus. His hopes of a fair trial at Rome, before his accusers, were doomed to disappointment. Julius of Rome sent to invite them to present their charges. The correspondence is not very edifying. They replied with some taunts, and, at last, refused to come on account of the *Persian War*, some hundreds of miles removed from all of them. Complaints against themselves, on the other hand, came from every quarter. In Thrace, Syria, Phenicia, Palestine, Christians were excluded from their own Churches; their Bishops were driven into exile, scourged, or imprisoned and in chains. But the Eusebians had power on their side, and they were not disposed for any trial before the Church; so, after waiting eighteen months, Athanasius returned home. Only a year more, and that decree of exile came, which we have already anticipated. Alexandria presented a strange scene. Some things there come out in strong relief, and help us to fancy it. Most are gone to God's hidden records, or are just distinguishable as in an old and defaced picture. There is Gregory of Cappadocia, consecrated Bishop of Alexan-

dria, and sent with the apostate Philagrius, the Prefect, and some thousands of soldiers, to drive Athanasius out of Alexandria, and to seat himself, as Patriarch, in our Bishop's chair. Something of Gregory we can make out, and very characteristic it is. He was coarse, gross, without even the grace to cover his want of principle with a seemly mask. The day for these men was approaching. We can hardly fancy such a person taking a Bishop's place among us. We may lament the corruptions of our own days, but some things are certainly better than they were.

There was no law by which these ninety reverend Bishops at Antioch could send this Gregory to Alexandria, and, without the soldiers, he would have found some difficulty in reaching Athanasius' seat. But the Prefect of Egypt was an apostate Christian, and his heathen body-guard was at Gregory's service. His entry into Alexandria stands out somewhat conspicuously from the shades which cover most of the picture. The Christians saw that he had come from the Arians, and though he strung together some Scripture expressions in the form of a creed, the Alexandrians understood what he was. They crowded their Churches in greater number than ever. Gregory was likely to be a Bishop without Churches or people, except Jews, heathen, and the expelled Arians. So Philagrius, to make room for Gregory and his Arian friends, sent a mob, with swords, clubs and stones. They emptied the Churches. One, at least, was set on fire. Some persons were trampled under foot and perished; some were beaten senseless and died of their wounds; others were sold as slaves. The gentle, modest women, who gave their lives to works of charity, were seized, stripped, scourged, abused. Those were wild times for the low heathen rabble, who still secretly longed for the old days. They spoiled the Churches which Gregory gave up to be plundered. Some laid hold of the money which Christian people had deposited there for security. They helped themselves to the sacred vessels, the candlesticks, the costly metal doors or screens, the stores of oil and wine, the robes of the Clergy. They offered birds on the Christian Altars, and sang their old heathen songs where Christ had been adored. They burnt the Holy Scriptures, when they could find them. The people saw the fonts wherein their children had been baptized, turned to all manner of abominations by naked men.

If a fair opportunity offered itself for robbing a Christian, it was well understood that the crime would have no severe judgment.

On one occasion—it was Good Friday—Gregory, with the Prefect, entered one of the Churches, where a few were praying. They very naturally shrank away from him; and, on a hint from him to the Prefect, thirty-four of them, virgins, wives, Christian men, some of rank, were scourged and thrust into loathsome dungeons. The little alms which the widows and other pensioners of the Church had been receiving, Gregory kept for himself. Such were a wolf's doings set over a flock of sheep to be their shepherd.

The Christian people of Alexandria could not, would not endure these ministers. So the Churches were left to the Arians. But if their Clergy attempted to minister to them in private they were insulted, beaten and robbed. So the sick remained unassisted, and died without the communion. S. Athanasius, in the hurried letter which he dispatched to the Bishops of the Church throughout the world, showed how this persecution from men calling themselves Christians surpassed those of the old heathen times: for then, in private at least, the priest might minister to his people.

Similar scenes were repeated throughout Egypt. Some Bishops were scourged, and, in chains, cast into prison. Some might be seen, feeble old men laboring, as prisoners at the public works. Sarapammon, who had earned love and reverence as a confessor in the old heathen persecution, was banished. Potammon, whom we saw at Nice, his eye lost in the Diocletian persecution, was scourged until he lay as dead. Poor Christians nourished him as well as they could; but he lingered between life and death for a few days only and then ended his pains.

This was in Lent and Easter-tide, A. D. 341. Constantine, the younger, had been Athanasius' fast friend; but he was dead, and there was no one to shield the innocent. Alexandria was no place for Athanasius. He staid for some time concealed in the neighborhood, until he had done all he could do for his people. But Western Europe could offer him refuge for awhile. So we find him again at Rome. Fifty Bishops met there, and receiving all the documents, and hearing all the evidence, the Eusebians still refusing to appear, they pronounced Athanasius innocent.



One brother of Constantius still survived. He was perhaps no better than the others, but he was a friend to justice when it interfered with none of his plans. This was Constans. He summoned Athanasius to Milan, and was so well pleased with him that he resolved to undertake his defence.

On the Northern boundaries of Macedonia and Thrace, South of the Danube, lay the little town of Sardica. There once more the Bishops of the East and West were to meet and reconcile distracted Christendom. About equal numbers came from either quarter. The one hundred Western Bishops had not troubled themselves with logic or philosophy. Having believed in Christ, worshiped Him as God, and received the Nicene Creed as the old faith and its perpetual rule, they were satisfied. But grief and astonishment filled their honest souls at what the Eusebians were doing in the name of Religion. Like their modern representatives, while affecting the greatest liberality, they were seeking to drive out of the Church those only who held to a positive faith. Some who came to Sardica showed the chains with which the Eusebians had loaded them. Others had sent from their dungeons friends to present their complaints; others told of exiled Bishops dying in deserts, mountains and caves, from exposure, privation and hunger.

The seventy Bishops of the East, however, were chiefly Eusebians and Arians. As usual, they depended on the Court to carry them through their undertaking. Imperial commissioners came with them to overawe the poor Catholic Bishops. Yet these worthy politicians had no doubt that they would be in a minority, and settled all their plans upon the road to Sardica. They took care not to leave their Catholic companions alone, even at night. In true modern style they agreed not to be outvoted, but to secede and break up the Synod. Athanasius' case was, as usual, the test question. The recusants said that they could not sit in Synod with one who had been tried, condemned and deposed. But it had been spread abroad what kind of trial he had, and the western Bishops at once replied that he had been condemned in his absence. That availed nothing. The Eusebians renewed the old charges. They declared Julius of Rome, Hosius of Corduba and others, deposed. Good old Hosius tried a last effort. "If Athanasius can have a trial, and be proved guilty, we all will desert him. If he

shall be proved innocent, and still you will not receive him, I will take him with me into Spain." All was in vain. The Eusebians had news of Constantius' victory over the Persians, and they must hasten home to congratulate him.

Constantius wrote in all directions to stop the letters which came from Sardica, restoring the exiled Bishops. Alexandria's harbor was watched for fear any of the exiles should return that way. The Arians were very officious in the matter, but their care was quite needless, for the exiled Bishops were not in haste to entrust themselves to such keeping.

This was in A. D., 347. The meeting of Sardica had plainly amounted to nothing. Constans however, wrote to his brother that if he were wise he would allow our Bishop to return. If he would not, the former had an army and a fleet which would be employed for the same purpose. There was trembling at Constantinople. Constantius consulted some of the Eastern Bishops, and they thought it better that Athanasius should return than that there should be civil war. As weak as unprincipled, the Emperor of the East tried to smooth over these rough places. Athanasius understood him, and was more than a match for a host of such people. Three times Constantius, with more and more pressing entreaties, summoned him to return. Very lamb-like were his words, weak and vile as he really was.

"Our benignant clemency will not suffer you any longer to be tempest-tossed by the wild waves of the sea. For our unwearied piety has not lost sight of you, while you have been bereft of your native home, deprived of your goods, and wandering in strange wildernesses."

After the experience which Athanasius had had, he naturally demanded some guaranties before he put himself again into the power of such men. Nor this alone. Orders also were sent into Egypt recalling the exiled Bishops who had not forsaken Athanasius. Then at last our Bishop returned. A joyful letter of congratulation from Julius of Rome to the people of Alexandria went along with him.

"Fire tries the precious metals, and proves them precious. So our dear brother goes back proved through many tribulations, and by the great council pronounced innocent. What a day of joy will that be for you when he comes back! I feel it with you, for I too have known Athanasius."

Constantius himself kindly received him, wrote very complimentary letters to Alexandria, and ordered all records against him or any of his friends to be cancelled. "Let all in Alexandria be at peace, and follow their Bishop in holy and religious ways." This was from the camp of the Emperor at Antioch. Athanasius wished to meet his enemies in Constantius' presence. They, of course, were not willing; but they gave a hint to the Emperor. "It is not much," he says, "they ask, that you set apart, namely, one Church in Alexandria for the people who will not commune with you," *i. e.*, for the Arians. And shrewd, as usual, was the Bishop's response: "Who can deny your requests, since you have power to order what you will? But there is one thing I too ask." The Emperor promised that it should be done. "It is that in Antioch where there are so many who hold the old faith, you will give back to our people one of the Churches which the Arians have taken from them." A just request as the Emperor cannot but feel. But the Arians would not assent; so the question of Alexandria's Churches was settled.

Sixteen Bishops met at Jerusalem to welcome the Saint on his way home; and they too sent their congratulatory letter to Alexandria.

"Who ever dared to hope that his eyes should see the joyful day? Ye were as sheep scattered and fainting without a shepherd. But the true shepherd on high who ever cares for His sheep has heard your cries, and restored to you him you love."

Bishops Ursacius and Valens, two of that notorious commission from Tyre to hunt out some new charges against Athanasius, at once accusers, witnesses, and judges, wrote a very penitent recantation.

"Whereas we have laid many grievous charges against Bishop Athanasius, and whereas we were unable to render to you any account of those charges, we do now confess before you, and in the presence of these Presbyters our brethren, that all those reports were falsehoods and fabrications, and utterly inconsistent with his character."

Many of his enemies also came to him privately and asked pardon. Many who had adhered to the Arians, came and abjured their errors. The numbers of the sect began rapidly to diminish.

We come now to a new struggle. Three years after the Saint's

return, Constantius was dead, ( A. D. 350 ) Magnentius the usurper of the West sent messengers to Egypt to try to gain the Archbishop. The people would very gladly be rid of Constantius ; and, according to the opinions and tactics of some Christian teachers in those days, it would have been the right thing for Athanasius to ally himself with such a friend, and so obtain a triumph for himself. But he was not the man to make politics help religious ends, nor religion to serve political schemes.

Constantius also was anxious to have our Bishop's favor. Weak and vacillating as he was, he was not too sure of his throne. We find him trying to make himself more secure by murdering his own relatives, until Julian his cousin and successor was the only one left. He sent his most trusty messengers therefore to assure Athanasius that the death of Constans should not leave him unprotected. At peace in his Diocese, he need not fear the wiles of his enemies, but should go on building up his people in faith and holiness. The prefect also, for the same reason, was told that the movements already in progress against the Bishop must stop.

In such circumstances the true man has but one course, and few doubts trouble him. Where others find uncertainty, weighing interest against principle, he finds none ; he collected his people together, prayed for the safety of the realm and of the Emperor, and confirmed his flock in allegiance even to Constantius, the persecutor of himself and his faith. The time came when in writing his apology to deliver it to the Emperor, he could appeal to this, for all Egypt knew it. The usurper was put down and Constantius was sole Emperor of East and West. Arians alone had his ear. His eunuchs and other parasites were not likely in those days to be found on any other side, and they accused Athanasius of having written to Magnentius. Constantius had shown weakness of which, no doubt he was soon ashamed. Before long, he declared that only his affectionate regard for his brother had induced him to recall the Bishop of Alexandria. "I thought," said Athanasius, "that after so many proofs concerning me, the adversaries would hide their faces, and regret that they had calumniated others ; but I was mistaken." A man like our Saint, so much greater than the world's ruler, and so invincible in his opposition to those who wished to change Christ's pure Church into the instrument of their own base ends, must be removed if the Emperor would have

peace. If they had both lived one hundred years earlier, it would have been enough for the Emperor to speak the word, and Athanasius would have been delivered to the fire or to the lions. But the Church was giving some notions of order and justice to that decaying old world. There must be a semblance of justice before the second Bishop in the Empire could lose his life.

The storm which swept over the East reached Constantinople, and the venerable Paul, twenty years a Bishop, three times exiled before, was banished for the fourth and last time. It was whispered, "the Patriarch has been strangled," which was probably the fact. Everywhere threats were again followed by chains, scourges, loss of goods, exile or death, unless Catholics would commune with the Arians. Word was sent to the magistrates, threatening fines unless they compelled the Bishops to subscribe the Arian creeds, and the condemnation of Athanasius. And when it seemed so expedient, and at the same time so conciliatory, to use Scripture terms alone, and not insist on such new words as *ὁμοούσιος*, and so easy to give up one man, what wonder that great numbers subscribed as required? The history of Catholic Faith in its struggles with error in our own day might furnish a striking parallel.

Then came the great gathering of three hundred Bishops at Milan, (A. D., 355.) Twenty years had now passed since the young Bishop stood up at Tyre to vindicate his own cause, and the cause of Christ; eight years since Constantius sent him home bidding all charges to be cancelled and all be reconciled. *Four hundred* letters of Bishops desiring communion or friendship with him had come from all parts of the world—from Britain on the West, to the Euphrates on the East. Does it seem credible that anything but Satanic spite and opposition to the truth could make this sensual Emperor with his courtiers drive these poor Bishops into cancelling all they had done before, and condemning Athanasius? But so it was. The Arians met privately. They were not numerous, few Bishops coming from the East. They demanded that Athanasius be condemned before anything else was done. On the other hand, the faithful required that the Nicene Creed be first signed, as the test of Christian men; for the Arians were already committed against him as an opponent of their principles, and their ex-parte trial had long before condemned him. The scene is not obscure to us. Dionysius, the Bishop of Milan, sits

down to head the list. Valens tears it from his hand. This in Church. People hear that the Nicene Creed is in danger from these Christian Bishops. There is great excitement. The Synod can no more meet in Church, but assemble in the royal palace. The Emperor, behind a curtain, is unseen. An edict setting forth Arian principles and condemning Athanasius is laid before them. It has been revealed to Constantius in a dream. Impetuous Lucifer of Cagliari calls it blasphemous. We can fancy the scene growing more confused and excited. The Emperor rushes from behind his curtain, his guards crowding round with drawn swords. "Let Athanasius be condemned." "Ursacius and Valens have retracted," and so on is the respectful reply. For some heroes are there. Lucifer of Cagliari has already spoken. Besides, there is Paul of Treves, Metropolitan of Gaul, Eusebius of Vercellæ, Dionysius of Milan. "It is not according to the Canons" they add. "What I will, is Church law," the Emperor replies; "in Syria the Bishops do as I bid them." The poor Bishops lift up their hands and beg him to remember that the Church is God's empire, and not his, and to let Church discipline alone. But he draws his sword, and orders his eunuchs to drag them out of the palace.

One more such scene we see at Milan. Lucifer and Eusebius of Vercellæ, not afraid of any one, stand up in council to defend Athanasius. Ursacius and Valens having recanted, their testimony is not to be believed. Who then accuses him? The Emperor rises. "I am his accuser." But sturdily the two Catholics reply that it is not just to try a man unless the accused be present to defend himself. The scene ends in confusion and horror. Many frightened give up Athanasius and receive the Arians. Eusebius, Lucifer and others, still steadfast, while many yield, go in chains to exile, or in dark dungeons—some to the rocks or sands of Arabia or Mount Taurus, or far up the Nile to the burning wastes where will lie their bones. The legate of Rome, a Deacon, is stopped and lashed by some eunuchs, Bishops Ursacius and Valens looking on and directing. Dionysius, of Milan, is an exile in the wilds of Cappadocia, whence he never returns. The new Bishop of this great Church is a barbarian from Cappadocia, who seizes Church revenues, but cannot even speak the language of the people. But wherever the exiles go, they declare the true faith,

and the very sight of their wrongs preaches the vileness and frauds of the Arians.

Liberius, of Rome, writes to the exiled Bishops praising their constancy, "Let them pray for him that his faith fail not."

The time soon came when he needed these prayers. The prominence of his See made his temporary fall the more tremendous for himself, and, in its consequences, the more disastrous to Christendom. He was first visited at Rome by the eunuchs. Bribes and cajolery were tried, a handsome sum of money being presented to him, which he sent back. Then he was threatened, but threats he cast off in the same manner. Then, by night, for fear of rescue on the part of his people, guards seized him and carried him off to the Emperor. After an angry debate he too was exiled. For two years steadfast, but at length worn out by ill treatment, faith yielding to despair, he gave up. He lived, however, long enough to try to repair the injury which he had done.

Father Hosius comes before us for the last time. Good old man, now one hundred and one years old, he writes stiffly back to the Emperor's cajolery and threats :

"I am old enough to be your grandfather. Sixty years ago, in the persecution under your grandfather Maximian, I confessed the faith, at the peril of my life. And if you persecute me, I am ready now to endure anything rather than to shed innocent blood, and betray the truth. Cease these proceedings, I beseech you, and remember that you are a mortal man. Be afraid of the day of judgment, and keep yourself pure thereunto. *Intrude not into Church matters, but learn them from us.* God hath put into your hand the kingdom, into ours His Church. It is written, 'Render unto Caesar, etc.' *It is not permitted us to exercise an earthly rule, nor have you, sire, authority to offer sacrifice.* Who has persuaded you, at this late hour to forget your own letters and declarations? These men desire, by your means, to injure them they hate, and wish to make you the minister of their wickedness, that through your help they may sow the seeds of their heresy in the Church."

These are words which should be read again as showing how the fathers of Nice regarded their office, and what answer they would teach us should be returned to false intruders on it. Father Hosius lay in a filthy and damp dungeon, scourged, racked, and then left with the iron eating into his old sinews. It could not be permitted to go abroad that this most venerated confessor, who thirty-four years before presided at Nice, refused assent to the imperial measures. So a year passed, and then the old man saved



himself by giving up so far as to commune with the Arians, although he still would not denounce Athanasius. He could not gain many more days of life, and on his death-bed he lamented what he had done under compulsion, and warned all against the Arian heresy.

The web which Athanasius' enemies were weaving with such industry was drawn closer and closer around him. A narrow path lay before him, and one which could be, at best, only torture to his feet.

And here there rises before our eyes a spectacle, which, in its moral grandeur has few like it in history. It is as if fair lands, fruitful fields, and splendid cities, had sunk beneath the ocean waves, and one solitary peak alone lifted its rocky summit over the waste of waters. Truth seems to have sunk. For almost all whom the eye perceives in history's picture have either renounced the faith or are perishing in exile. Only the faithful in Alexandria anxiously await their hour. This is all that the human eye can perceive; what God or angels see in secret places is known to God or angels, not to man.

Constantius gave secret orders to a notary of his to go to Alexandria, and put the Bishop out of the way; for the Emperor still seemed afraid of the people of that city, even in his hour of triumph and success. The notary gave orders to Lyrianus, the General of Egypt, that Athanasius should leave the city. But our Bishop was always a match for them. Let them put down their commands *in writing*, he respectfully said; "for he had letters from the Emperor, and so had his people, annulling all charges and bidding him to remain at home in peace." Very necessary was it for him to ask for these written orders, for otherwise, officers might act their own pleasure and take care of the consequences. Probably the Emperor himself had been ashamed to write, and trusted to his servants to execute his wishes and relieve him from responsibility. Then, if the thing miscarried, he would have a loop-hole by which to escape. The saint could not get the writing he demanded, but an agreement was made between him and the others that he should rest undisturbed until a messenger sent to Constantius, should bring further instructions.

Meanwhile the legions of foreign mercenaries from upper Egypt and Libya, were secretly gathered around Alexandria. Then in the midst of perfect quiet the storm burst in its fiercest rage.

We can picture it. The scene is at S. Thomas' Church, the largest in Alexandria; for they have no proper Cathedral there. It is the night before some feast, and the Church is crowded in every corner by men, women and children. For times of trouble bring them in crowds to their sanctuaries. Many soldiers surround the Church. The news is whispered throughout the vast area. Athanasius, calm and collected, bids them sing Psalm 136, "O give thanks unto the Lord." The murmur grows louder. There is a crash of breaking doors; then flights of arrows and javelins. Arms rattle; swords flash in the light of the lamps. Then shrieks of women follow; then low groans. The soldiers are forcing their way up towards the Bishop. S. Athanasius bids his Deacon call the people to prayer, and then dismisses them. Many are trampled down in the rush to escape; some, pierced with arrows or javelins; many, stripped and robbed. S. Athanasius, rises from his throne; clergy and other friends urge him to depart, but he will not leave until the people are gone. Then he passes out through the midst of the soldiers, one cannot say how, and is gone, no one knows where. Calm, peaceful, sublime, he prepares to lay his cause before the Emperor himself. Very moderate are the words which he uses of the injuries done to him and his people, and very grandly worded is the oration, with wonderful skill also to meet accusations, and present his wrongs with reverence for Cæsar, while doing justice to his own cause. He cannot, will not assume that the Emperor has had any share in the violence used. He recounts the new charges against himself, and answers them. But purely human feelings seem lost in a sense of the dignity of his office, the greatness of the cause which he represents. The falsity of the former charges of Ursacius and Valens argues the falsity also of these. His enemies said that he had stirred up the brothers against each other, exasperating Constans against Constantius.

"In truth I am ashamed even to have to defend myself against such charges as these which I do not suppose that even the accuser himself would venture to make mention of in my presence. He knows that I was never so bereft of my senses as even to be open to suspicion of having conceived such a thing. Your most Christian brother was not a man of so light a temper, nor I a person of so much consequence, that we should communicate together on a subject like this. I never even saw your brother in private, but always in company with the Bishop of the city, and the master of the palace and others."

Then Athanasius with his usual care and precision gives the names.

"I request you to call to mind the conversations I had with *you*. Did I speak evil before you even of the Eusebians who have persecuted me? If then I imputed nothing, when I had a right to speak, how could I be so mad as to slander a king to a king, a brother to a brother? When I left Alexandria, I did not go to your brother, but to Rome to lay my cause before the Church there. Neither did I write to him, until the Eusebians accused me to him; then I sent my apology from Alexandria."

So he traces every step, describes every interview, and challenges his accuser to name time and place.

So also he writes concerning the usurper Magnentius.

"I know not how to answer the charge. Believe me, most religious prince, I have often doubted with myself whether any one were mad enough to forge such a lie. But now the Arians say they have a copy of my letter to Magnentius. Many sleepless nights have I lain awake while I opposed these men as if they were present; and I cried out and prayed with tears, that I might find your ears open to hear my cause. As for that usurper and murderer, while we were utterly ignorant of one another, what could induce me to write to him? *What* could I write? You have done well to murder the prince who has honored me? whose kindnesses I shall never forget? or, 'I approve of your conduct in destroying our Christian friends and most faithful brethren?' Is it not madness even to suspect me of such a thing?"

So he answers other charges too tedious to enumerate; always equally candid and respectful, but firm and steadfast. Lastly, concerning the command to leave his Church. He had it under the Emperor's own hand, that he should not be disturbed, and must not give ear to disturbers. He had therefore only asked evidence that the Emperor had ordered otherwise. For he would have obeyed at once. He was not one of that stubborn set who make injustice on the part of rulers a pretext for dishonoring them in what belongs to their office; and he kept a wonderful and dignified silence concerning the robberies and murders in the Churches of Alexandria, some, at least, of which he must have well known.

With this apology he meant to appear before the Emperor. But news came to him that the storm was raging over the world, and not in his city alone. And while he was astonished to hear of the banishment of Liberius, Hosius, and others, and of the scourging and torturing of many, there was information from another quarter,

that many Bishops of Egypt and Libya had been driven into the deserts and rocks, and their Churches given up to the Arians.

"Even so," he says, "I did not give up my intention of going to you until I received a third report that letters had been sent to Ethiopia to have search made for me that I might be given up to your officers; and that any of the clergy or laity of Alexandria who should refuse to commune with the Arians should suffer death."

And a very extraordinary letter from the "most religious and Christian prince" was produced in Alexandria, headed, "Constantius to the Alexandrians."

"It is the part of royalty to embrace you above all others, because you have cordially acquiesced in our opinions, abominating that impostor and cheat, [Athanasius.] The majority of the citizens had their eyes blinded, and a man who had come from the lowest depths of infamy, obtained authority among them. How can I describe him more truly than by saying he was in no respect superior to the meanest of the people? This illustrious person did not wait for judgment to proceed against him, but sentenced *himself* to the banishment which he deserved. So a long farewell to him. And we advise Athanasius' friends to renounce their zeal for him; otherwise they will bring themselves into peril before they know what they are doing. For while that rascal is driven from place to place, being convicted of the basest crimes, for which he would only suffer what he deserves, if one were to kill him ten times over, it would be inconsistent in us to suffer these flatterers and juggling ministers of his to exult against us, men of whom orders have long ago been given to the magistrates that they should be put to death."

Athanasius could not go to Constantinople. His people could not worship where Arians profaned the Altars and the name of Christ, for they had not learned the "liberality" of modern times. They sought the solitudes of the cemetery or of the desert. East of Alexandria, covering the heights which border on the sea, was the city of the dead. As you left the gate at the head of the magnificent avenue which traversed the metropolis from east to west, its entire four miles of length, you entered gardens where the dead were made ready for interment. Beyond, you saw the sepulchres, and, beyond all, the desert wilds of Libya. In such a place, the Saturday after Pentecost, we see a company of the faithful secretly gathering together to worship God in truth and peace. They are chiefly women and children; for their helplessness makes them brave, fearing no harm. But suddenly, through the palm groves, three thousand soldiers burst forth on their affrighted eyes.

The sound of blows, and shrieks, and groans, fills the air. Some four men of the company are seized. The neighboring palms supply tough rods, the leaves being removed, and the thorny spines remaining; and these poor Christian people, first stripped, are scourged and lacerated, the thorns not remaining on the *rods*. When the sun goes down over Alexandria's palaces, his last rays shine on the dying and the dead. We spare our readers much that is horrible or disgusting in these scenes, only selecting enough to show through what fearful days our Bishop was passing. Even the butchered dead could not be had for burial except when large bribes procured such mercy; otherwise they were cast out to the dogs, the prowling scavengers of eastern cities, until their friends came by night, and tried, sometimes in vain, to recognize the form of a brother, sister, wife or child.

More plainly spoken than Athanasius' apology, is the protest of the people of Alexandria, and full, also, of the old hero-spirit of Christendom. After telling their pitiful story, they add:

"Now if an order has been given that we should be persecuted, we *are all ready to suffer martyrdom*. But if it be not by order of the Emperor, we ask that we may not again be assailed. And we believe that when his Piety shall be informed of what has taken place, he will be greatly displeased, and will do nothing contrary to his oath, but will again give order that our Bishop Athanasius shall remain with us."

Constantius only laughed at them. At first he had been careful for the forms of justice; very soon he abandoned them altogether.

Even the poorest came under this iron yoke. Food and alms had been regularly distributed to the sick, the needy, the widows and orphans. Constantius gave orders that the money should be given to the Arians; George, the new Bishop, kept it for himself. And who is this that sits on Athanasius' throne, to lead and guide Christian folk in Alexandria? We know not where to look for his counterpart unless it be in those portions of our cities which furnish us with a certain kind of "politicians." George was a native of Cappadocia. Of low birth, but of worse manners; ignorant, and of bad morals; he was a parasite of the army and the court, knowing no virtue but to serve his own appetite. He had "made money," by supplying the army until his detected frauds compelled a hasty flight. He professed Arianism, and the Eusebians found him a manageable tool. So in his wanderings he discovered himself

at Alexandria. What could induce even such an Emperor as Constantius to have such a man, by force of arms, made bishop? But so it was. Avarice led him to use his episcopal power as prefects often used theirs. He got monopolies of salt, nitre, paper, etc. He had taxes imposed of which a liberal share came to himself. We shall not hear of his end for some time; God's avenging ministers wait, for He is eternal.

This man with the prefect gave the heathen mob to understand that the Emperor would be gladly rid of the Catholic Christians altogether. And they were very ready to use their opportunities. Along the harbor, looking out upon the blue waves of the Mediterranean a great Church had been built near the imperial palace. For the converts, in St. Athanasius' time, had required new and larger Churches. It was a Wednesday service. Most of the people had left the Church, but a few, chiefly women, remained praying. With stones and clubs the mob looked into the Church. They cursed; they filled the air with obscenities; they beat the helpless worshipers, until those that were not wounded or senseless, had all escaped half naked. Then they seized the wooden altar, the seats of the clergy, the robes, the Holy Scriptures, and books of prayer, piled them up in the broad space before the Church, and made a fire of them, while obscene songs took the place of prayers. Searching for Athanasius, they broke open and robbed houses, not sparing even sepulchres.

And throughout Egypt, the same wretched scenes were repeated. Old Bishops, too feeble or too ill to walk, were driven or dragged to the horrid wastes on either side of the fertile Nile Valley. Some died on the road, while others left their bones, and their misery in the desert. In all, more than thirty Bishops were thus exiled.

Then Church-offices were put up for sale. Heathen professed themselves Arians, and purchased the office of Bishop. In the midst of all this horrible gloom we see one little ray of sunshine glimmering as if it had entered some loathsome dungeon; officers come in search of Melas, a faithful Bishop of some little Egyptian town. They enter the Church, but see nobody except a somewhat decrepit man trimming the church-lights. He has on an old cloak, greasy with oil. They ask if the Bishop is there. He says courteously, "yes," and offers to lead them to him. They notice

his bright eyes, and their errand being very plain, wonder at their finding a treacherous renegade so ready to help them. So he takes them to the Bishop's house; they being tired, he makes them sit down, gives them some of his vegetable dinner, brings them water, and then, after dinner, when they ask him to show where the Bishop is hiding; he mildly says, "I am the Bishop." They tell him plainly what they came for; but that they have lost the heart to do their work. He replies, that he will have no easier lot than the rest of his brethren, but will go into exile along with them if they must go.

In such scenes six weary years slowly passed away. And meanwhile, where was our great Bishop? Of one thing we may be very sure, he never at any time, forgot the flock which God had given him, but ever guided them through trusty messengers, or by his letters. Neither did he forget the welfare of the whole Church-Catholic. But in dark caves, or the cemeteries, or the horrid Egyptian desert, he was penning his great work, which went forth for the defence of the Faith, and the strengthening of the faithful throughout the world.

Constantius had despatched letters in every direction, even to the Christian princes of Ethiopia, to whom Athanasius had sent the Gospel, bidding them drive out the minister if he should find refuge even there. Rewards were offered for him, alive or dead. Counts, prefects, armies, were in search of him.

Among the sun-scorched, rugged, barren rocks that lined the valley of the Nile, here and there a hermit or a society of hermits had found a home. We can easily picture the scene; for while generations come and go, like passing shadows over the earth, they leave her much as they found her. Those hermits fifteen hundred years ago, made their habitation in those rock-hewn chambers, or among those deserted palaces, sepulchres, temples, which still remain as they left them. There they felt as none could feel before or since, both from the dying world which they had left, and from the memorials of a dead world around them, the emptiness of human glory and the transitoriness of man himself. For they saw around them works built to last forever, while the builder, like the coral-worm, could only construct his tomb and pass away nameless and forgotten. And far off in the world which they had forsaken, seeing all its magnificence of art and civilization



sinking into decay, to the eyes of these hermits the world itself seemed ready to dissolve, and they possessing their souls in peace, waited for the speedy coming of the great Restorer, their divine Redeemer.

What Athanasius' eyes saw toward the eastern deserts of Lybia, we may still behold : abrupt, bare jagged peaks ; red rocks burnt by the sun's perpetual glare. Wild gorges along the burning sands below, may lead through them, and offer here and there a level spot of earth, where with patient care a few vegetables can be raised. Occasionally also, a falling torrent plunges down the cliffs, but is lost in the sand. No wonder that the gloomy Egyptian mind, familiar with such scenes, colored even the Gospel with sombre hues, and seized readily upon the dark side of the truths of humanity, of sin, of the vanity of earthly things, and of everlasting death.

Men of congenial spirits peopled these horrid wastes. In large communities sometimes, yet always living solitary, in places where meager subsistence might be gained, even tens of thousands formed societies ; until it seemed that half of the population must be found in those strange, but pure and religious communities. Their cells were hewn out in the soft red rock, many of them carved and painted for the mausoleums of forgotten kings. From these, far up the mountain-side, the hermits looked out over these ruined and half buried temples, palaces, and avenues of sphinxes.

South of Alexandria and not far away, amid such mountains and deserts, in a place known as Nitria—where even the one gift to the poorest, water, flows brackish and disgusting, full of salpeter—were one thousand hermits. On an island up the Nile, a far more fertile spot, however, there are said to have been fifty thousand. At another place, where old temples were converted into churches, a cœnobite city of thirty thousand was dedicated to the true God.

Strange creatures appear to us, these old hermits of Egypt ; a coarse linen shirt and a sheepskin their only clothing ; legs and feet bare ; a long staff in their hand ; their only bed a mat or blanket. A few ounces of bread with a little fish or salad their only food ; water their only drink. They have no property whatever, not even for their society. Regular labor is a penance and the fulfilment of Adam's curse. Yet they are not altogether strangers to letters. Many, indeed, cannot read, but others copy

Greek and Roman classics. Palm-leaf mats, and baskets made and sold provide the little means for their wants.

These strange people were not only St. Athanasius' messengers and secretaries to Alexandria and to the whole church, but his protectors also. Pursued to one such spot, he was hurried by them to another, while they freely offered their own breasts to the sword, that they might save that precious life.

Would any one have imagined what new charges were spread abroad? It was that the most contemptible cowardice had made him run away, the cowardice of a self-convicted conscience. To keep silence then, would have been criminal.

First, of the cowardice :

"I have endured all things, and dwelt with wild beasts, not doubting but that the truth would come to light. Would it have been best for me to give myself up to death from these men, who would pretend your orders for killing me? Certainly, this would not become me; nor you, a king that follows Christ, to be accounted the murderer of Christians, and especially of Bishops."

He cites the example of Prophets and Apostles, and shows how senseless would be the folly of allowing godless men to gain their end by putting him out of the way.

Silence also, concerning wrongs, would have been weakness, not charity. Forceible, holy but burning with fiery indignation, are the words in which at length, he exposes to others the emperor's crimes and defends himself.

Yet Constantius' wish was fulfilled. No place for Athanasius was left in the Roman empire. And still he was in Alexandria, guiding, watching, directing, as of old. The sweet waters of the Nile had long been brought into the city through canals, and stored in vast underground-cisterns, whose arches one may still see in some places, story over story. In one of such dark, damp retreats, the heroic Bishop was hidden for a long time. Yet even that hiding-place, at last, was not safe. A servant of one of his Christian brothers betrayed him. At day-break she brought a party of soldiers to the spot, eager to get the reward offered for Athanasius' head. They found an empty cistern. That very night he had fled, and, with curses they gave their treacherous guide such a beating as she deserved.

Other things during these six years have passed away into darkness. Some have supposed, from what St. Athanasius says, that in disguise he was in Italy at Rimini, and in the east at Seleucia, lending his aid at the councils there. Certain it is, that if unseen himself, his influence was felt throughout Christendom, apparently the only earthly hope of the scattered faithful, exiled, robbed, imprisoned, murdered in every quarter.

In the great world all this time, things did not stand still. They never do. Each principle, each party, works on, moves on, towards its end. The opponents of the old faith, though united as such, when compelled to declare themselves showed as usual, their own endless differences. Semi-Arians approached toward the old faith. Eusebians, trimming their course nicely, would use only Scripture terms, and profess nothing which would injure their prospects. Anomeans took the plain, bold, consistently blasphemous position that Christ was only a great and good man, who *might* have sinned. It confuses us to follow their fragmentary divisions. Councils were held as usual. Eastern Bishops met at Seleucia, one hundred and fifty of them; forty Eusebians, one hundred and ten Semi-Arians; the former, being politicians, as usual getting the better of their less skilful opponents. At Rimini, in North-eastern Italy, there were some four hundred; eighty of them Arians. There the poor Bishops were kept by the Emperor for months, winter coming on, a season when travelling was scarcely to be thought of except at great peril of life. They were poor in purse. They were cajoled, threatened, frightened, and deceived. The leaders of the other party disclaimed Arian opinions, and insisted only on Scripture terms. They proposed, too, that all should together, sign a paper denouncing those who say that Christ "is a creature like other creatures." The Bishops signed it, supposing that it meant that Christ is not a creature at all. The shrewder Arians interpreted it that Christ *is* a creature of God, but different from others. And so the whole world as S. Jerome expresses it, "wondered to find itself Arian." Truly the Church was on the edge of a precipice deep and hopeless. Yet there was more hope than the eye could see, for while Constantius was murdering the guides of the people, their hearts remained steadfast. The violence of the Arians alienated the people more and more. Cunning, worldly men, they had committed themselves to Scripture

terms, but the people took their words according to the faith. Beautifully says Hilary, "The ears of the people are holier than the minds of the priests."

The end of six such years came at last; and the end of the twenty-four years of Constantius. Error had had its day. Twenty-nine Creeds had shown how hopelessly changeable is rationalizing concerning Divine mysteries. Julian the Apostate, the finished scholar, the elegant writer, the conceited philosopher, was Emperor. He had seen a not very edifying picture of Christendom. He would gladly see what he considered very unphilosophic superstitions swept away. But what to substitute when old heathenism was effete, and the vulgar must have some kind of religion? There was no better way to prepare the ground for his refined philosophy under old heathen names than to set sect against sect, and to let them destroy one another. So Athanasius was again restored to his people.

Was it at this time that the Saint received that joyous welcome of which his friend, S. Gregory, speaks, whose words we quoted in a previous Article? The scene paints itself on the fancy. He is seated on an ass, as when his Master entered Jerusalem. Sufferings among his people at home, and his own sufferings away from them, had bound them together as only men can be bound by suffering in a common cause. Miles and miles away from the city the multitude have poured forth to greet their long lost Bishop. The joyous procession arranges itself, class by class, age by age, trade by trade; Bishops, rulers, and the chief citizens of the wealthy merchant city; and the poorest, too, for Athanasius is as much theirs as any others'. Children strew flowers and palm branches, and sing their carols. Some burn incense along the road; others throw down their cloaks beneath his feet. Eventide approaches as he enters, and the city blazes forth in light along the broad avenue. People go out of their houses now to celebrate national triumphs. At Alexandria they went forth to meet a *Bishop*.

The rich gave feasts; the poor rejoiced in their friend restored, while they shared the gifts distributed by the wealthy. The Arians, of course, restored the Churches to their rightful owners; but their assemblies were undisturbed. None were persecuted, none suffered in property or person; in nothing but the stings of their

own consciences. One after another, until multitudes were numbered, they and heathen too came and professed the faith, and were affectionately received by the Bishop. For he had ever said, "The Gospel of the Church is to rule by persuasion and love; not by force and arms." Not three years had passed since the shameful scenes at Rimini, and a mere partisan would have divided and ruined all. But lovingly would the Saint receive all, even the hypocritically disguised. Let all sign the Nicene Creed, and stand as brothers united in that bond. In the day of prosperity and power, the Catholics of Alexandria kept down every outraged sense of iniquity; enduring with patience in the day of adversity, like the martyrs whose children they were, in better days they forgave, and opened their arms to those who had inflicted on them every possible injury. Beautifully says an eye-witness:

"Harmonious, like a well-tuned harp, his life, his doctrine, his exile, his return; not carried away by prosperity nor by anger at those who had ruined him and his Church. He administered the affairs of those by whom he had been injured with so much gentleness that they could not say that his return was displeasing, even to them. He purged the Temple of the unbelievers, as Christ did, but not with the whip of small cords. But he wrought by persuasive words; he reconciled those who were divided. He set the light of faith in the Triune God where it shone far and wide. His letters went everywhere; his counsel was everywhere regarded. The faith might seem suddenly restored."

But Julian was disappointed, and therefore anxious to be rid of Athanasius, whom he bitterly hated. His philosophers and magicians truly told him that that man was the great obstacle in his way. He was recalled, said the Emperor, but not restored to his Church. Let the Prefect banish him. News had spread that Julian would restore the old idolatry. The diminishing numbers that wanted those days back, wrote to Julian that the Patriarch was leading all after him, and that their rites were hindered. And, with their own Egyptian superstition, they revived the old story that Athanasius was a wizard, and said that he secretly murdered infants, to inspect their entrails, and predict fortunes. This too was a serious matter for the imperial philosopher, who like many another rejector of the mysteries of the Catholic faith, was full of superstitions of his own.

Christians wrote, begging peace for their dear Bishop, but Ju-

lian's philosophers told him that he could do nothing until Athanasius was out of the way.

So troops came to seize him. The great Church which he had built, the Cesarean had plundered and burnt. But he had been warned, or foresaw the danger, and was on his way by night, through the canals, and up the Nile, in his little boat. First, however, he took affectionate farewell of a few of his people with words of hope. "Fear not, my children, this cloud is a little one, and will soon pass away."

The pursuers are after him—the Count and his troops; and bribes and malice urge them on faster than Athanasius' frightened and exhausted rowers can propel their boat. As the pursuers reach a certain village they inquire if the Bishop's boat is far up the river. "He is only a little while passed." "Now row, my men, and a pound of silver to each man, if we take him before sunset."

Athanasius learns, too, that his pursuers are close behind. His companions row with all speed, but beg him to leave the boat and escape into the desert. "Be not frightened, my children," he calmly says; "let us rather go to meet our persecutors, that they may know that greater is He who defends us, than he who pursues us." And he has the little boat turned around, and steers through the midst of the pursuers. "Is Athanasius far up the river?" is the cry, as they hail the boat slowly making its way by them. "He is close by you," is the reply, and the diminutive craft holds its course uninterrupted towards Alexandria's canals. "Now make your oars fly, and we shall have him." We do not see how long they kept on rowing but we seem to detect for once a merry smile on the Bishop's face.

But he was not safe, he knew, in Alexandria with any of the Clergy, or any well-known friend. Very touching seems to us what we meet with at this time, afflicting us in its purity and desolation. A young girl of twenty summers has vowed her years to the service of the Church; and she has her little room near the Temple. She is startled from her slumber at midnight by a knocking and a voice. A venerable old man—*old* we may call him now, since he has turned sixty-five—asks a hiding place in Christ's name. He holds a Bishop's staff in one hand, a lamp in the other. At first the girl is too much frightened, to give more than a glance

at him, but as he stands motionless, and she must look again, even to shut the door, she sees it is her Lord Bishop. Maiden shame laid aside, she gives up her room to him, reverently waits on him, doing all menial offices, bringing him food and books, and carrying his letters unsuspected. And this she does as long as the apostate Emperor lives, happily not many months. Long years afterward, when the Bishop was at rest and she was an aged woman, she used to delight to tell of the dark night when the great Athanasius sought her protection, and she, a young girl, became his only guardian.

Julian was struck down, either by a Persian dart, or a javelin thrown from among his own ranks. A Christian Emperor, Jovian, was on the throne. The people, going to their Church, looked with wonder and incredulous joy at the Bishop's throne. It was Athanasius himself seated there. He had resumed his place without waiting for Jovian's letter, which soon recalled all the exiled Bishops.

The Bishops met once more in synod at Alexandria. What should be done with those who had professed Arianism through fear or bribes? Athanasius said, "Restore them, that all may go home with greater joy," and it was done. Little more remained before his sun set in calm tranquility. He was past seventy. Jovian, calling himself a Christian, and restoring the Church everywhere, sent a kind invitation to the aged Bishop to visit the Court. He had not appeared in such a manner since his youth, when he stood before Constantine. Jovian asked to be instructed in the Faith, and Athanasius showed him the *Nicene Creed* as the unchanging faith of Apostles, Martyrs, and the loving Church of God.

Calm, eloquent as ever with the eloquence of truth, simplicity and holiness, he ruled for ten years more, and then laid down to rest, May 25th, A. D. 373. There was one return, a brief one, of the days of darkness, passing like the shadow of a midsummer cloud. Valens was Emperor of the East, an Arian, persecuting the Catholics. He issued his edict, banishing all whom Constantius had exiled. The people tried to defend their Bishop on the ground that Constantius himself had recalled him, but in vain. At midnight troops surrounded his house to steal him quietly away without alarming his people. Baffling the wiles of his enemies so as to be reputed to be a magician, he was gone; but



not far. His father's sepulchre, in the gardens beyond the city, was this time his hiding place. The excitable multitude was, however, in such a tumult, and Valens himself so insecure, that he was glad to recall the beloved Bishop.

Here then we rest. The old heathen world and its princes were learning that while all things beside were going to ruin, there was nothing so strong, so enduring, as the Gospel, the Faith, the Catholic Church. The old world had to measure its strength with this young David, and be brought down to the dust, before it felt this great truth. Wonderful as was God's work in Athanasius, more wonderful his work for us through this man. No man henceforth could dispute the *ὁμοούσιον* and yet count himself a member of the body of Christ. The Saint's epitaph is expressed in few words by S. Gregory.

"He departed this life with far greater honor and glory than what he had received in his triumphant entries into Alexandria, so much was his death lamented by all good men; and his name remained engraven on their hearts. For he left the world amid the tears of many, which speaks more than processions, or visible honor of any kind."

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#### ART. VII.—THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

AMONG the historical questions connected with the books of the New Testament, few have been more contested than the date and place of writing of what are termed the Pastoral Epistles; the two to Timothy, and the one to Titus. No question of this nature is of more importance or interest.

*As to the Epistle to Titus.* One opinion is, that the visit to Crete was made, and the Epistle written during the residence of St. Paul at Corinth, of eighteen months; another that the visit was made on the return from Corinth to Ephesus going into Syria, and the Epistle was written from Ephesus; another, that the visit took place during the three years residence at Ephesus and in Asia Proper, and that the Epistle was sent on the return to Ephesus; another, that both have their place during the stay at Corinth of three months after coming from Macedonia; and again, the visit and Epistle are placed in an interval between two imprisonments

at Rome; a long time (from four to six years) being assumed as intervening between them.\*

The fluctuation of the opinion of one of the ablest of critical writers, is shown in the following passage from Michaelis.

"In the first Edition of the Introduction, I described the Epistle to Titus as written after St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome. In the second I wavered in this opinion. When I published the third, I thought it highly probable that it was written long before St. Paul's journey as a prisoner to Italy, when he touched at Crete; and at present, (1780, fourth edition), I have no doubt, that the Epistle was written before that voyage."

As to the First Epistle to Timothy, a large number of writers assign a very early date for it, generally about A.D. 57, 58, and consider, that it was written from Macedonia, when St. Paul had gone there after the riot at Ephesus.†

Wieseler and Dr. Davidson conclude that it was written within the three years residence at Ephesus, but suppose that there was a journey to Macedonia within that period, the notice of which is omitted by St. Luke; that it was written in Macedonia, or on the way there. Dr. Paley's theory is, that the First to Timothy, as well as that to Titus, were written in an interval between the two imprisonments at Rome assumed to have taken place. Bishop Pearson and others concur in this. Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk supports the same view as to the Epistle to Timothy; and although his purpose did not require an opinion, his reasoning leads to the same result as to the others.‡

In relation to the Second Epistle to Timothy, the questions seem reduced to these; whether it was written towards the close of a second imprisonment at Rome; § or of one and the only imprisonment there; || or between two imprisonments when at liberty. ¶

We thus find, that whatever difference exists as to the date of

\* Wiesinger *Bib. Com.*: in Vol. 23. *Clark's Foreign Theolog. Library. Townsend's New Testament Notes*, p. 344. *Davidson's Int. to the New Test.* Vol. 3, p. 71. The names of the writers sustaining these various views, are stated in detail.

† *Introduction*, Vol. 4, p. 32. (2). Athanasius, Theodoret, Baronius, Hammond, Grotius, Lardner, Michaelis. See *Davidson's Intr.* Vol. III. p. 4. *Townsend's New Testament Notes*, 352.

‡ When did St. Paul place Timothy over the church at Ephesus? *Episcopacy examined*, p. 115. Other writers sustain the same view, Dr. McKnight, Conybeare and Howson.

§ Neander, Paley, Burton, Mosheim, Tomline, Huther. See the list *Davidson's Int. Van Oosterzee*, Vol. 3, p. 63.

|| Davidson, Wieseler, Otto.

¶ Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester, and Wiesinger.

the Epistles respectively, there is a large number of eminent writers concurring in the opinion, that there were two imprisonments of St. Paul at Rome, and a long interval between them. I shall term this the Interval theory, and it is thus stated by Dr. Paley.

"Upon the whole, if we may be allowed to suppose that St. Paul, after his liberation at Rome, sailed into Asia, taking Crete in his way; that from Asia and Ephesus its capitol, he proceeded into Macedonia, and crossing the Peninsula came into the neighborhood of Nicopolis, we have a route which falls in with everything. It executes that resolution expressed of visiting Colosse and Philippi. It allows him to leave Titus in Crete, and Timothy at Ephesus, as he went into Macedonia, and to write to them not long after from the Peninsula of Greece, and probably from the neighborhood of Nicopolis."<sup>\*</sup>

The learned authors, Conybeare and Howson, suggest the following detailed account.

"From Rome after the acquittal in A. D. 63, across the Adriatic into Macedonia, thence to Ephesus, Colosse, and Laodicea, probably thence to Spain, and a residence there of about two years, a return A. D. 66, to Ephesus; then to Macedonia; then to Crete; to Corinth by way of Miletus; thence to Nicopolis, and so to Rome, where he was executed in A.D. 68."<sup>†</sup>

In the late Edition of the Epistles by Lange (New York, 1869) is the comment by Van Oesterzee upon the three Pastoral Letters. He assigns them all to a period of a second imprisonment. He notices what he terms a striking book of Dr. Otto, in which the theory of but one imprisonment is keenly defended.

*Guericke*, another advocate of the Interval theory, supposes travels partly in the East, and partly in the West. During one of these journeys, he arrived in Crete. Here he planted several churches, and left Titus to superintend them. From Crete he went to Miletus; then to Ephesus, where he wrote to Titus: and then into Macedonia. The first Epistle to Timothy was written from some place on this route. Then he went to Troas and Corinth, spending the winter at Nicopolis. Thence he went to Italy and Spain. From that place he was brought a captive to Rome, and then wrote the Second Epistle to Timothy.

Mr. Tate in his account of the journeyings leaves out Spain. He supposes that the Apostle with Timothy and Titus, sailed to Crete after his liberation, where Titus was left. From thence he

<sup>\*</sup> *Horæ Paulinæ*, p. 193, Am. Edition.

<sup>†</sup> See their chronological table, vol. II. p. 560 and notes.

went into Asia, visiting Colosse and Ephesus, where Timothy was left. Then to Macedonia, and at Philippi he wrote First Timothy. Thence he summoned Titus to Nicopolis. After the winter there he went to Corinth, and from that place to Ephesus. He left Trophimus sick at Miletus, and arrived at Rome where he was imprisoned, wrote Second Timothy and suffered martyrdom. \*

After examining the various theories upon this subject, two points appear very prominent. One is the exceedingly slight support which Scripture gives to the Interval theory; the next that the strongest argument by far for that theory, rests upon the alleged impossibility of reconciling passages in the Scriptures, with any other hypothesis.

This view is particularly urged in relation to the Epistle to Titus and the First to Timothy, compared with the details in Acts. The Second Epistle it is allowed was composed after the period mentioned in Acts had closed.

This "historical incompatibility," as it is termed by Wiesinger and others consists:

1. In the asserted impossibility of arranging the sequence of events chronologically and consistently.

2. In the fact that institutions of church polity are noticed in them, which were not developed until a later period of her history.

3. Upon a line of argument of a Levitical and philological nature tending to prove a later date of composition.

This last course of reasoning is scarcely relied upon by the authors who defend the Pauline origin of the Epistles, though contending for the interval theory. It is mainly used by the opponents of that authenticity. As we assume that they are genuine productions of St. Paul, we shall not notice these expositions.

The first objection is clearly the most important. If unanswerable, it is decisive. It is the one most relied upon. In examining it, I shall first seek to settle some leading dates and order of events, of great importance in guiding us.

The Council of Jerusalem was held A.D. 51, the arrival of Festus to supersede Felix in Judea was in the summer of 60, the arrival of St. Paul at Rome as a prisoner was in the Spring of 61, and the expiration of the two years imprisonment there was

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\* *Continuous History of St. Paul, Part III.* p. 118. *Davidson's Intr.* 2, 96.

in the summer of 63. The great fire at Rome was in July 64, and a fierce persecution of Christians then began.

The authority as to these and other material events, such as the assumed release, and the death of St. Paul, are stated in the following table.

*Dates assigned for the Council at Jerusalem.*

By Capellus, Wurm, Burton,	A.D. 46.
" Baronius, Petavius, Pearson, Schott, Hales,	49.
" Basnage, Wieseler, Lardner, Conybeare and Howson,	50.
" Tillemont, Weiner, De Wette, Davidson, Calmet, Oxford Bible of 1794, Angers,	51.
" Kuinoel, Eichhorn, Hemsén, Hug,	52.
" Michaelis.	53.

*Arrival of Festus to supersede Felix.*

Burton.	55.
Baronius, Petavius, Capellus,	56.
Weiner, Pearson, Spanheim, Tillemont, De Wette, Wurm, Angers, Wieseler, Lardner, Davidson, Conybeare and Howson,	60.
Schrader, Hemsén, Schott,	61.
Usher, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Burgess.	62.

*Assumed release of St. Paul.*

Bengel, Burton,	58.
Vogel, Kuinoel, Basnage, Townsend,	62.
Wurm, Berthold, Teilmoner, Tillemont, Lardner, Pearson, Conybeare and Howson,	63.
Hug, Burgess, (In the Spring),	64.
De Wette, Heinrichs, Usher,	65.

*Death of St. Paul.*

Davidson, Wieseler, Schrader, Hemsén,	64.
Lardner, Vogel, Hailes,	65.
Tillemont, Burgess,	66.
Baronius, Petavius, Usher, Hug, Bengel,	67.
Burton, Jerome, Pearson, Spanheim, Conybeare and Howson, McKnight	68.

Most of these names and dates are taken from Davidson's Table, compared with that of the Oxford Bible of 1795, and Conybeare and Howson. The latter in a full and able argument appear to us to prove that the recall of Felix and arrival of Festus was in the summer of 60, and that St. Paul departed for Rome in the autumn of that year. The preceding table shows the great preponderance of authority in favor of this opinion. Without detailing the course of the reasoning, we think it may be assumed as proven, that this was the true date of the arrival of Festus; that St. Paul left Ce-

sarea in the Fall of 60; touched at Crete about October; spent the winter months in Malta, and arrived at Rome in the Spring of 61.

Adopting these as established dates we have a basis on which to adjust the occurrence of other events. Thus for the time previous to the arrival of Festus, we have the following periods explicitly stated. Two years residence of St. Paul at Cesarea, three years at Ephesus and adjoining places; eighteen months, "and yet a good while" at Corinth. Thus we have six years and nine months accounted for. We have besides, going back to the time of the Council of Jerusalem, the "yet a good while" at Corinth, the journey after the council through Cilicia and Syria to Antioch confirming the churches, the journey to and labors at Lystra, Derbe, Galatia, Phrygia, Troas, Nicopolis, Philippi, Corinth, and Athens, the voyage from Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, for Syria, to Ephesus, landing at Cesarea, saluting the church at Jerusalem, and going down to Antioch. After some time spent there, there was the journey over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia, and then through the upper coasts before the second visit to Ephesus. We have also the going over to Macedonia, and the journey thence to Greece, the journey back by way of Macedonia, Troas and Miletus to Jerusalem, and the abode there before the confinement at Cesarea. It cannot be supposed that these labors and journeyings occupied less than two years, making up eight years and nine months between the arrival of Festus and the Council. Nine years give the year 51 for the latter.

And it is a striking fact that the great majority of writers allow nine years between the Council and the departure for Rome; but that was a few months after Festus arrived. The preceding table also shows the great superiority of authority in favor of dates, varying from 50 to 53 as to the time of the Council, and of an equal number, and equal character, in favor of the year 51.

Pursuing the record of the Apostle after the arrival of Festus, and his reaching Rome in the Spring of 61, we are to allow perhaps a short time before he went to his own hired house. He dwelt there two years. Whether this residence then terminated, is hereafter considered. Another fact is to be noticed. The great fire at Rome occurred in July 64, and the persecution of the Christians ensued. We may regard it as almost certain that if St. Paul was in Rome at that time, he would have been sacrificed, or more

strictly confined with a view to his trial. We cannot imagine that one so conspicuous and zealous could have escaped the fires of martyrdom then so fiercely burning. Mr. Merivale supposes that the hired house was one of the buildings surrounding the Emperor's palace, and that St. Paul was placed there instead of in the dungeons under the palace floor.\*

It appears to follow, with reasonable certainty, that if there was any release, it took place between the summer of 63 and that of 64. If there was no liberation, the close confinement took place at that time, and was followed by the Apostle's death.

Adopting this outline of events of the highest pertinence and weight, I have formed the following table, which will illustrate the views advocated more minutely and particularly as to the three Epistles, afterward submitted.

*Table of Events connected with St. Paul, Titus, and Timothy.*

A.D. 51	The Council of Jerusalem, St. Paul and Titus present.
51-52	St. Paul in Syria, Cilicia, Lystra. Selection of Timothy.
52	St. Paul at Athens. Timothy at Berea.
52	St. Paul at Corinth, Timothy joins him.
52-54	Residence at Corinth of over eighteen months. [First and Second Thessalonians there written.]
54	Journey by Ephesus to Syria; through Phrygia and Galatia.
54	Apollos at Ephesus and return to Corinth.
54	St. Paul's return to Ephesus from the Upper Coasts.
54-57	Residence at Ephesus, Asia Proper, etc.
55	[Epistle to the Galatians written.]
56	Visit of St. Paul with Titus to Crete. Return.
Early 57	[Epistle to Titus from Ephesus.]
Early 57	Arrival of Apollos at Ephesus.
" "	[First Epistle to the Corinthians written.]
Spring of 57	Timothy sent to Corinth and return.
" 57	Timothy sent to Macedonia and return.
Summer 57	The request to remain at Ephesus.
" 57	Tychicus sent to Titus.
" 57	Riot at Ephesus and departure of St. Paul.
" 57	Meets Titus in Macedonia. Return of Titus.
Autumn 57	Timothy joins St. Paul in Macedonia. [Second Corinthians written.]
57	Labors in Macedonia. Timothy with St. Paul.
Fall 57	Journey to Greece through Illyricum.
Winter 57	Residence in Greece of three months. Timothy with him three months. [Epistle to the Romans written.]

\* History of the Romans, Vol. IV. p. 212.



Spring 58 Journey into Asia and to Philippi and Miletus.

58 Arrest at Jerusalem.

58-60 Imprisonment at Caesarea.

[First Timothy written.]

Summer 60 Arrival of Festus.

60-61 Voyage. Shipwreck, arrival at Rome.

61-63 Residence at Rome two years, etc.

[Epistles to Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon and Hebrews.]

July 64 Fire at Rome. Persecution.

64 Trial. Partial deliverance.

[Second Timothy written.]

64-65 Death.

*The Visit to Crete, and Epistle to Titus.*

The notices in the New Testament of the connection between St. Paul and Titus, are the following :

"Fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. . . But neither Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised." (Galatians ii. 1, 3.) St. Paul went up from Antioch in Syria, and it was on the occasion of the Great Council at Jerusalem that Titus was with him.\*

"Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you? I desired Titus, and with him I sent a brother. Did Titus make a gain of you?" (2 Corin. xii. 17, 18.) "When we were come into Macedonia our flesh had no rest. Nevertheless God comforted us by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in you. . . Exceedingly more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all, how with fear and trembling you received him." (Ibid. vii. 5, 7, 13, 15.)

The churches of Macedonia having desired St. Paul to take upon him the fellowship of administering to the saints, he writes.

"Insomuch that we desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you, the same grace." (viii. 6).

"Thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care in the heart of Titus for you. For indeed he accepted the exhortation; but being more forward, of his own accord, he went unto you." Conybeare and Howson's translation is "He has not only consented to my desire, but goes to you of his own accord." (Vol. II. p. 110.) "And we have sent with him the brother whose praise is in all the churches. . . Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner, and fellow-laborer concerning you." (1 Cor. iv. 16, 23). "Paul a servant of God, etc. To Titus mine own son after the common faith. For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every city, as I had appointed thee." (Titus i. 1, 3).

\* Conybeare and Howson, I. 213, 214.

With the exception of the brief notice in the last chapter of Second Timothy, "Titus hath departed unto Dalmatia," these are all the Scriptural passages relating to him,

Between the date of the Council of Jerusalem, and the writing of Second Corinthians was an interval of more than five years.\* Within that period that Epistle tells us, that Titus had been desired to minister to the Corinthians; had done so of his own accord; had joined the Apostle in Macedonia; that he was to be sent again to them; to finish the work begun; and he is called a partner of the Apostle *concerning them*.

If for the present, we assume the visit to Crete to have been within this period, then we have also the time, (short no doubt,) of the Apostle's being in Crete with Titus, the residence of Titus there for an undefined time, and his further residence at Corinth, until he went to meet St. Paul in Macedonia, to fill up the interval.

The occupations and labors of St. Paul himself may be traced as follows. After the Council, he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches. He then came to Derbe and Lystra, circumcised Timothy and took him with him. Shortly after they came to Thessalonica. He was sent away from Berea in Macedonia to Athens; and from Athens went to Corinth, where he remained eighteen months, "and yet a good while."

He then sailed to Ephesus on his way to Syria.† Thence to Cesarea and then up to Jerusalem.‡ Then down to Antioch, and over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia. After "passing through the upper coasts,"§ he came again to Ephesus. There he spake in the Synagogue three months; then in the school of Tyrannus for the space of two years, "so that all which dwelt in Asia heard the word, both Jews and Greeks."

Then he sent Timotheus and Erastus into Macedonia, "but he himself stayed in Asia for a season." After the riot, he departed into Macedonia, "and after going over those parts came into Greece, and there abode three months."

We have said that the interval from the Council at Jerusalem

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\* The Second Epistle was written from Macedonia, after St. Paul had gone there from Ephesus.

† This is no doubt the meaning of Acts xviii. 18, 19.

‡ A deduction from verses 21, 22.

§ I suppose Bythynia and Mysia.

to the writing of Second Corinthians was over five years. We have eighteen months at Corinth, and three months and two years at Ephesus expressly defined. The phrases "and yet a good while" and for a season are indefinite, and the time necessary for all the journeyings is left for conjecture. Six years would more probably be required.

Another source of information for the solution of the question is found in the Epistles written during this period. It is I believe, undisputed, that the two Epistles to the Thesalonians were written from Corinth during this residence of eighteen months.\*

That First Corinthians was written from Ephesus during the long residence there, and in the last year of such residence is generally allowed. The argument of Conybeare and Howson as to the place seems conclusive,† but their position that it was written during or after Easter founded on the passage in 1 Corinthians v. 7, is refuted by Dr. Davidson.‡ There is nothing to prevent the conclusion that it was written early in 57.

Second Corinthians was written from Macedonia during St. Paul's residence after the riot.§

On the assumption that the Epistle to Titus was written before the visit to Macedonia which took place after the riot, we have three supposable cases. *First*, that the visit was made, and the Epistle written, during the eighteen months' residence at Corinth. *Second*, that the visit was made during that period, and the Epistle written afterwards from Ephesus, and *Third*, that both visit and Epistle must be placed during the period of the residence at Ephesus.

The first supposition, advocated by Michaelis, is disposed of by Wiesinger: and, as I understand him, with the concurrence of Matthies and Bohl.|| The argument in reply is this. The Epistle must have been written after Apollos had been at Ephesus, and gone into Achaia, before St. Paul's second and long residence at Ephesus. But this was after the abode at Corinth of eighteen months, (compare Acts xvii. 24; xix. 1, and Titus iii. 13,) and it is

\* Riggenbach apud Lange Comm. Ed. 1809. Thess. p. 3 and 105. The date is fixed from 53 to 54.

† Vol. II. p. 33. ‡ Introd. Vol. III. p. 221. § Con. & Howson II. p. 97.

|| Clark's Foreign Th. Library, Vol. XXIII. p. 246.

clear that Apollos had gone from Ephesus, and was in Corinth, or some other part of Achaia,\* at the time of the Epistle.

And this decisive answer as to the date of the Epistle goes far to refute the second theory, that of the visit being during the eighteen months, and the Epistle written subsequently and from Ephesus. It is forcibly urged by Wiesinger, that there could not have been much time between the visit and the Epistle. It is apparent that the visit was short. Dr. Ellicott, an advocate of the interval theory, says,

"That the Apostle, not being able to remain long enough in Crete to complete the necessary organization of the churches in the island, but having left Titus to complete this responsible work, sends him all necessary instruction."†

But upon this second theory there would be an interval of more than two, perhaps three years between the visit, and the Epistle. It seems to follow that if the Epistle was written from Ephesus, the visit was made from that place also. And such is the opinion of Smidt, Wieseler, Auger and others, among the German, and of Davidson and Burton among the English commentators. Before stating the arguments supporting this theory, two general observations are of importance.

The first is upon the silence of St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, as to any visit or Epistle. Certainly this is fairly urged against the view of their occurrence during the period covered by the Acts. But the advocates of the Interval theory place no great stress upon this silence. St. Luke is equally silent as to events indisputably proven. Titus, for example, was sent by St. Paul to Corinth; he joined the Apostle in Macedonia; and was again sent to Corinth. Of all this there is no mention in Acts. So again the First of Corinthians shows that Timothy had been sent to Corinth, and there is the like silence.

The next observation relates to the situation of Crete, in regard to the progress of Christianity. Its position, size, population and fertility had obtained for it the name of the Queen of Islands, and it is termed by Homer the "ninety citted." Its decline began after the conquest by the Romans, yet the passing away of only one

\* Perhaps in Crete. "Conduct—Forward on their journey" for "bring," Ellicott *Pas. Ep.* 219, n.

† *Pastoral Epistles*, Intr. 185. "Which I for want of time, could not perform," citing Beng.

generation from that conquest could not have wholly effaced its prosperity. Jews from the island, Proselytes, were present at Pentecost.\* Between the date of that event and St. Paul's long residence at Ephesus were over twenty years.† The converted Cretans carried Christianity back with them, and rapidity of progress was the law of the age. Crete was but two days' voyage from Corinth. At Corinth we have the fact of St. Paul's residence of eighteen months preaching the word of God, and of the Lord having much people there. Then from the Epistle to the Corinthians we discover, not merely the great growth of the church in that city, but the growth of errors, evils, corruptions and dissensions. It is impossible that such should have been the course and development in Corinth, and that similar influences should not have been felt in Crete. Indeed one great error and evil is strongly rebuked in both Letters; that of a Judaic Christianity.

This argument, confirmed by the wonderful expansion of Christianity in other lands, tinged inevitably with errors from heathenism not overcome, or from irradicable Jewish views, refutes the position of De Wette and others, that the Epistle was not adapted to the situation of the Cretans. It is impossible to read it carefully, and not find it in harmony with a Church planted twenty years, and growing as the Church in those ages grew. Indeed the hierarchical principle found in it, is an argument, as we trust hereafter to prove, harmonizing with the necessities of the Church, and the plans of the Apostle for the future.

We think that we have successfully excluded the theory of the visit or Epistle being before the long abode at Ephesus. Is there any thing affirmative to support the view that they took place during that abode?

If it can be proven, that the Epistle to Titus was written before First Corinthians, the question will be settled. It is almost unanimously allowed, that the latter Epistle was written from Ephesus, during the last year of the residence before the riot.‡

This leads to the consideration of the connection between St. Paul and Apollos.

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\* Acts, ii. 10, 11.

† Taking Pearson's Chronology, that most generally received, A. D. 33 to 54, 57.

‡ See Dr. Davidson's able and elaborate discussion. Vol. III. p. 90.

From Acts xviii. 24, 28, and xix. 1, 7, it appears that Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an eloquent man "and mighty in the Scriptures," came to Ephesus. He was instructed in the way of the Lord, but knew only the *baptism of John*. Aquila and Priscilla expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly. He went from Ephesus into Achaia, where he helped those who believed. While he was at Corinth, St. Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus. Then commenced his long residence there and in Asia Proper.

Next, from First Corinthians (i. 12; iii. 4, 6,) we find, that the result of the teaching of St. Paul and Apollos, was the rise of sects and divisions among the Corinthians; some professing to be followers of Paul, others of Apollos. We find that the Apostle places the ministry of Apollos nearly upon a footing with his own. "I have planted, Apollos watered." The latter was in all respects blameless as to these divisions. His ministration was after that of the Apostle.

Again, it is nearly certain that Apollos was with St. Paul at Ephesus when this First Epistle was written. (1 Cor. xvi. 12.)

Then we notice the passage in Titus, "Bring or, 'forward,' Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting unto them." (iii. 13.)

Thus the Apostle wrote to Titus, on the supposition that Apollos was in Crete or would be.

And here the fact and tradition recorded by St. Jerome is most striking. He says, that "Apollos, in consequence of the dissension as to himself, Cephas, and St. Paul, left Corinth, and went into Crete. Afterwards he returned, and was the first Bishop of Corinth."\*

The coherence and pertinence of these facts is remarkable. Apollos was laboring at Corinth to perfect the work begun by the Apostle. Apollos left it for Crete. St. Paul, apprised of his departure, writes to Titus at Crete,† to forward Apollos on his journey to join him at Ephesus. Apollos is found at Ephesus with the Apostle; is pressed to go again to Corinth; declines to do so

\* Calmet Verbo Apollos.

† Conybeare and Howson show how constant was the communication for trade between Corinth and Ephesus.

then, but will do so at a future time. This information is given to the Corinthians, after the arrival of Apollos at Ephesus.

We may not absolutely say, that Apollos came to Ephesus in consequence of the Epistle. It may be a better conclusion that he intended to have joined the Apostle there. But this great pertinent fact remains. The Apostle supposed him to be in Crete, and urges Titus to help him in coming to Ephesus. He does join St. Paul at that place. The Epistle to the Corinthians announces this fact. The request of the Apostle is expressed before. It is expressed in the Epistle to Titus. The Epistle to Titus was therefore written before that to the Corinthians.

This Epistle must have been written so long before that to the Corinthians, as to allow of its transmission to Crete, and the journey of Apollos to Ephesus. But little time would be necessary for this. Crete is about two hundred and fifty miles from Ephesus, a voyage of between two and three days.\*

The Epistle to the Corinthians was written as we have supposed before the Passover, and thus we have at least nine months of the same Pentecostal year, for the visit to Crete, return, and Epistle to Titus. We may assign the preceding fall for the visit, the winter or early spring for the Epistle.

Some objections to this conclusion are to be noticed.

Why should St. Paul writing to Titus in the winter of one year, though late, provide for meeting him at Nicopolis the ensuing winter? Our answer is, that within two or three months from the date we propose, he actually did write to the Corinthians, announcing the probability of his spending the winter with them.

He was plainly looking forward to the termination of his labors in Asia, to a visitation of Macedonia, and journey to Greece. The objection seems very slight.

Again Wiesinger in his introduction to the Epistle to Titus, says, that the Apostle sent Titus from Ephesus to Corinth, about a collection. Conybeare and Howson adopt the statement. The passages from Second Corinthians vii. 14, and xii. 18, are referred to. The first of them does not give the least support to the conjecture. The boasting to Titus was made in Macedonia. This at any rate is most probable. And as to the other passage, "I de-

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\* Conybeare and Howson, 100 to 120 miles a day was the average of the voyages.



sired Titus, &c.;" the request may as consistently have been made in Crete, or from Ephesus, but not at it. The texts before cited prove that the supervision of Titus extended over Corinth. He was the fellow-laborer of the Apostle *concerning the Corinthians*.

But another and great objection made by Wiesinger and others is, that it is impossible to show, how the spending the winter at Nicopolis corresponds with these circumstances.

The following passages bear upon the point:

"When I shall send Artemas or Tychicus unto thee, be diligent to come unto me at Nicopolis; for I have determined there to winter." (Titus iii. 12.)

"Now I will come unto you when I shall pass through Macedonia; for I do pass through Macedonia. It may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you." (1 Corinth. xvi. 5, 6.)

"After the uproar was ceased Paul departed to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over these parts, and given them much exhortation, he came into Greece." (Acts xx. 1, 2.)

"From Jerusalem, and round about Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ." (Romans xv. 19.)

It is generally admitted, that Romans was written from Corinth during the last residence there of three months, after the coming from Macedonia above stated.

Tychicus it is said was an Ephesian. We find him with St. Paul in Greece during the three months abode there, and going with him from Greece into Asia by Troas. The inference is reasonable that he was sent to Crete as intimated that he would be; and went from thence to Corinth to join the Apostle. He was obviously high in the ministry. He was sent to Ephesus when St. Paul desired Timothy to come to him at Rome. (2 Tim. iv. 12.)

The Nicopolis, at which the Apostle expected to pass the winter, is supposed by some writers to have been the city of that name on the River Nessus, upon the borders of Macedonia and Thrace.\* But it is stated that that city was founded by Trajan, and called also Ulpea.† If so, the question is settled. That could not have been the city intended.

It is highly improbable also, that the Apostle would fix for a winter residence a place far from the extreme point of his known ministration in Macedonia.

\* Dr. Ellicott thinks the question uncertain.

† Forcellini's Dictionary, Vol. II., p. 1081. Also Merivale's Hist. of Romans, vii. 196.

Assuming that Nicopolis in Epirus was the city designed for the meeting, we have the following sequence of facts, most of which are clearly established, and the rest highly probable. They are entirely consistent, and remove all difficulty.

St. Paul informs Titus that he expects to send Tychicus or Artemus to him in Crete, and desires that he should meet him at Nicopolis in the ensuing winter.

He changes his plan, and within a few months afterwards, writes to the Corinthians, that he may probably spend the winter with them.

He does send Tychicus to Titus, apprising the latter of his change of plan, and appointing a meeting elsewhere, *viz.*, at Troas.

He goes from Ephesus to Troas, and has no rest in spirit because he does not find Titus there, (2 Cor. xi. 12.) He then proceeded into Macedonia, (Ibid. vi. 13.) Titus did meet him in Macedonia, (Ibid. vii. 6,) and Titus went back, probably carrying the Second Epistle to the Corinthians with him. The Apostle prosecuted his journey into Greece.

And here the passage from Romans is pertinent. And round about Illyricum, I have preached the Gospel. Illyricum skirted Macedonia on the North-west and West. When going over these parts, St. Paul would be upon its borders. It is probable that he journeyed by the *Via Egnatia*, which passes through Philippi, Thessalonica, and over the Mountains to Dyrachium in Illyria, and that he then went Southward by Nicopolis into Greece.

It is stated that Origen found at Nicopolis on the shore of Actium a Greek copy of the Old Testament, worn-out, dusty, and worm-eaten. (Eusebius, vi. 16.) We may indulge the imagination that it was a copy of the Septuagint belonging to St. Paul. Doubtless that version was used by him.\*

We have no further notice of Titus until he is spoken of in Second Timothy, as having gone into Dalmatia. This is a proof that that region and Achaia, the great Christian province between the Ægean Sea and Macedonia on the one side, and the Asiatic and Great Sea on the other, with the many citted Isle, was under his ecclesiastical rule. Van Espen speaks of a tradition of his being Bishop of Crete, and of Corinth, and Dalmatia.

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\* See Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ*, p. 16.

One objection to the sequence of events we have supposed, may be that it appears to involve a winter voyage of St. Paul from Ephesus to Crete, and transmission of the Epistle also during the winter.

Conybeare and Howson\* quote from Smith's Voyages of St. Paul, a passage of Vegetius, that from the third day of the Ides of November, to the sixth day of the Ides of March† the seas are closed. For there is little light, prolonged darkness, clouds, and rain and snow. But Mr. Smith in the work referred to, Visit to Crete, and Epistle to Titus, shows, that it was the long voyages in the open seas, "where neither sun nor stars appeared," that were prevented. Guiding their course by the heavenly bodies, it was difficult and dangerous to navigate where they were obscured. It was after the vessel carrying St. Paul to Rome left Fair Havens for the open Mediterranean, that she met the fierce adverse wind, and the heavens were darkened.

Now this objection is of no force as applicable to a voyage from Ephesus to Crete. The map will show that a vessel would never be out of sight of land. To the fine harbor of Cydaus, and from thence by the shortest course, and one well sheltered, would be but one hundred miles, but by a rather longer course, there would be the protection from heavy seas, and the sight of head-lands down to the Island of Rhodes, and from thence a transit of less than eighty miles to a point in Crete, and with a large Island about midway, for guidance and shelter.

And these observations apply with even greater force to a winter voyage from Ephesus to Cenchrea, the port of Corinth. There is only a short distance of exposure to the open sea, after passing the Island of Coos.

We may confidently state, that so far as "historical unaccountability" depends upon inharmonious events and dates, no substantial difficulty exists in assigning the Visit to Crete, and the Epistle to Titus to have been written during the last year of the residence at Ephesus.

*(To be Continued.)*

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\* Vol. 2, p. 321.

† As I understand from the 12th of November to the 9th of March.

## ART. IX.—THE GREEK CHURCH.

*Some Account of the Present Greek Church, compared with Jacob Goar's Notes on the Greek Ritual.* By JOHN COVEL, D. D. Cambridge. 1722.

*Menologium Græcorum.* 1727. Astor Library.

*The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia.* By JOHN GLEN KING, D. D. London. 1722.

*The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia.* By ROBERT PINKERTON. New York. 1815.

*A History of the Church of Russia.* By A. N. MORAVIEFF. St. Petersburg. 1838. London. 1842.

*The Doctrine of the Russian Church.* By Rev. R. W. BLACKMORE. Aberdeen. 1865.

*The Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Churches of the East.* Aberdeen. 1846.

*A History of the Holy Eastern Church.* By the Rev. JOHN MASON NEALE, M. A. London. 1850.

*Dissertations on Subjects relating to the "Orthodox," or "Eastern Catholic" Communion.* By WILLIAM PALMER, M. A. London. 1853.

*Addresses of the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos.* 1870.

MANY reasons conspired to the warmth and brilliancy of that reception of the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos which has recently so excited England. Laity, Clergy, Dignitaries, Universities, Convocations kindled with hospitable ardors. Entertainments, addresses, honors smiled along the pathway of Alexander. He emerged from the solitude and obscurity of his island-diocese into a blaze of notoriety, both dazzling and unexpected. He is a Greek; and was, therefore, seen encircled with that glow the imagination throws over a land which has achieved so much for art and literature and liberty. He is a representative of the venerable Eastern Church; and thus associated with the Creeds, and Fathers, and Martyrs, and struggles of a sacred antiquity. He is the declared foe to Roman usurpation; and now, while the Vatican Council is rearing a new barrier to Latin communion, and scattering so many splendid visions, he may prove a bright link of fellowship with

oriental Christians. Perhaps had it been known that by baptizing and ordaining an American Presbyter he had proclaimed to the world that he esteemed every Anglican Layman unbaptized, every Anglican Priest unordained, and every Anglican Bishop unconsecrated, the enthusiasm of his welcome might have been somewhat chilled. As it was, the fact that by no act and in no address did he directly or impliedly recognize the equality of the English and Greek Churches, was not suffered to arrest the admiration and cordiality with which he was so universally greeted.

It is impossible not to be impressed and affected by such a reception. How much better, in most aspects, than the passions often inflamed by the presence of those differing in religious views! To urge what may mar and cloud such beauty of fellowship appears both invidious and dangerous. More especially is the task unwelcome when we remember how much our own wise and admirable General Convention has done to foster union with the Greek Church. Still, if this blaze of the emotions dazzles the vision until it becomes blinded to the sober suggestions of reason, the brilliance of the glare should be somewhat mitigated. It is remarkable that in all the letters, and resolutions, and addresses which have accumulated in England and America until they form a distinct literature, no allusion is ever made to precisely those difficulties which are the chief barriers to Communion. Now that the burst of Anglican enthusiasm is somewhat expended, and the electricity of the atmosphere has exhausted itself in such fervent flashes, it may be proper to calmly and thoroughly examine the delicate subject. We will not touch the fact that the Greeks have never in their history for one moment recognized either English or Latin orders. While the Russian Church will admit a Roman Priest to ordination through chrism, and without the Trine immersion, it so happens that this very Archbishop of Syra, is so strenuous upon this point, that *he* would insist also upon a new Baptism. Waiving, however, all questions of equality, or precedence we now propose to investigate kindly and impartially what the Eastern Church teaches and practices in regard to the worship of creatures, and the dogma of transubstantiation; and then conclude our Article by a few reflections upon these eager and passionate advances towards Communion.

The universal temptation of the race has been to idolatry. Men desire visible gods. A being seems too high for their comprehension who is unseen and spiritual; only perceptible through his Creation; withdrawn from our gaze in the mysterious depths of his Divine Nature. Mortals failing to grasp the infinite and eternal, and weary with straining into the dimness which veils omnipotence, and omniscience have always sought to embody in palpable forms that consciousness which led them to trust, and to adore. Indeed, to innocently gratify this characteristic tendency; to satisfy both our human and our divine instincts; to bring God down to man, and to bring man up to God; to unite earth to heaven, were the great purposes of our Lord's Incarnation. One of the most blasting and pernicious effects of the idolatries of Christendom is that the saint expels from the heart the Saviour, and becomes the object of that faith and adoration due to Jesus Christ.

Beyond question the aim of the Jewish dispensation and discipline was to preserve in the world the worship of Jehovah, and the expectation of His Messiah. The temptation of the Israelite was idolatry, and his test allegiance to God. His faith had to be guarded by ceremonies, by types, by laws, by mercies, by judgments, by the seclusion of years in the wilderness, by separation from the nations during centuries, and finally by a long and dreary, and cruel captivity. When Christianity burst upon the world amid the glory of the Roman Empire the test which had been applied to the disciple of Moses was virtually applied to the disciple of Christ. A grain of incense burned to Jupiter, or a kiss upon the image of the god, or an inclination before his embodied majesty, would almost invariably extinguish the fiercest flames of death. It is certainly a remarkable fact that in the days of her primitive martyrs, and noblest triumphs, Christianity recoiled with abhorrence from every approach to the worship of the creature. Still the old idolatries were in the blood and heart and life of men. The taint was derived from inheritance, and aggravated by custom. Even in the patristic writings of some of the early centuries its revived traces begin to reappear. Certain customs fostered the tendency. The very atmosphere of the world was pervaded by the infection. Soon the internal impulse answered the external temptation. The splendid efforts of Helena the mother of Constantine to make the gorgeousness of the Church correspond to the magnificence of the

Empire precipitated the result. Christendom soon resembled Paganism. The images of the ancient temple were represented in the modern Church. Idolatries of Babylon and Athens and Rome were substantially revived. Angels and Saints were invoked instead of gods and demons. Michael was substituted for Jupiter. Where the heathen supplicated Apollo, the Christian supplicated Peter. The holy Virgin took the place of the chaste Diana. Creatures whose worship is forbidden, and of whom we have no assurance that they can hear or help, were everywhere invoked, whereas the whole foundation of faith in prayer is the Scriptural revelation of the Omnipresence, and Omnipotence, and Omniscience of Jehovah. Christendom was thus debased and darkened and polluted by expending those sympathies on the saint which properly terminate in the Saviour. The edicts of Leo the Isaurian in A. D. 717, and A. D. 727 first forbidding the worship of images, and then commanding their destruction, were evidently unwise assaults upon the mere external evidences of an internal and universal corruption whose only remedy was the reformation of the heart. The efforts of Copronymus were not eventually, more successful than those of his father. Leo the Armenian, at the altar of the Church, grasping the cross as his weapon of defence, lost, first his arm, and then his life, by the violence of a rude soldier who respected neither the purple of the Empire, nor the sanctuary of his Religion, while his cruelty was simply an intensified representation of an idolatrous age. Mahommedism itself was a ghastly protest against the superstition of Christendom, which, first encouraged by the innocent zeal of Helena, was restored by the monstrous cruelties of Irene, and perpetuated by the feminine craft of Theodora. The zeal of Iconoclasm soon exhausted itself. The old idolatry finally tainted the new religion. The gloom of Mediævalism was beginning to settle over the world. In the year of our Lord 842, a solemn festival was appointed for the restoration of images. The Clergy of Constantinople, and the surrounding regions gather before the palace of the Archbishop. A vast procession moves to the Church of St. Sophia. There the Empress and her Son are ready for the pageant. With lifted crosses and blazing torches the crowd march around the Church worshipping the statues and pictures. Thus the adoration of the creature became again the practice of



Christendom. The decree of the second council of Nicæa not only declares the law, but expresses the consciousness of the age.

"With the venerable, and life-giving cross shall be set up the venerable and Holy images whether in colors, in Mosaic work, or any other material within the consecrated Churches of God, on the sacred vessels, and vestments, on the walls and tablets, on houses, and in highways. The images that is to say of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of the immaculate mother of God; of the honored angels; of all saints and holy men. These images shall be treated as holy memorials, worshiped, kissed, only not with that peculiar adoration which is reserved for the invisible, incomprehensible God."

All violators of this asserted immemorial usage of the Church if Ecclesiastics were to be deposed and excommunicated; if monks or laymen, excommunicated. The council not only enacted the Decree but burst forth into the most passionate exclamations of approval.

"We all believe, we all assert, we all subscribe. This is the faith of the Apostles. This is the faith of the Church. This is the faith of the Orthodox. This is the faith of all the world. We who adore the Trinity worship images. Whoever does not the like anathema upon him. Anathema upon all who call images idols. Anathema on all who communicate with them who do not worship images."

It is not the purpose of our Article to discuss the abstract question involved in the Decree of Nicæa. Whatever the nature of adoration to any creature it becomes uniformly, and essentially sinful and corrupting. The ancient Roman defended supplication addressed to his statue by the very arguments the modern Greek defends worship addressed to his picture. Reasons and results in heathen and in Christian have always been identical. But our object now is to show historically by how wide, and deep a chasm the Eastern and Anglican Churches are separated by their authoritative action on this entire subject. The Greek and Latin communions have always followed in their practice the Decree of the Second Council of Nicæa. In regard to the former we shall soon give the evidence in detail. At present it is sufficient here to quote the Anathema of Orthodox Sunday which is, we believe, a universal custom in the Oriental Church, and intended forever to perpetuate the triumph of image-worship obtained against Iconoclasm. On the first Sunday in Lent, over the vast regions of Russia, in Constantinople, in Jerusalem, and through the islands of

the Mediterranean; the office for the day contains the annually recurring words.

"To the Synod that innocently condemned the holy icons anathema, anathema, anathema. To them that interpret the sayings of holy Writ against idols of the venerable icons of Christ our God, and His saints, anathema, anathema, anathema. To them that knowingly communicate with those that insult, and dishonor the venerable icons, anathema, anathema, anathema."

Now while the Greek Church accepted the Decree of Nicæa, and yearly celebrates its memory, and declares its authority, the Anglican Church has since the Reformation assumed a position precisely antagonistic. While the worship of creatures, like the interlacing roots of a forest, every where pervades the standards, the liturgies, the devotions of the Eastern Communion, and the Latin Communion, it was most marvellously eradicated from the offices, and the life, and the consciousness of the English Communion. No revolution in the habits of a people was ever more sudden, more complete, more wonderful. Whether the result is traceable to a difference of blood, or intellect, or race, or to a superior spiritual illumination, the fact remains. There is an amusing, and also startling contrast between the Anathema of Orthodox Sunday commemorating the Second Council of Nicæa, and the burning condemnations of our Homilies reciting the history of image-worship, and concluding with words which the men who have compiled some recent liturgies for English churchmen, and dared from an English chancel, and before an English congregation to invoke the shade of St. Paul, may profitably consider. We confess that its perusal has increased our admiration for the learning, the intellect, and the piety of our venerable Reformers.

"Thus you understand, well-beloved in our Saviour Christ, by the judgment of the old, learned, godly doctors of the Church, and by the ancient histories ecclesiastical agreeing to the verity of God's Word, alleged out of the Old Testament, and New, that images and image-worshippers were in the Primitive Church, which was most pure and incorrupt, abhorred and detested as abominable, and contrary to our true Religion. Finally, ye have heard what mischief and misery hath by the occasion of the sacred images fallen upon whole Christendom, besides the loss of infinite souls which is most horrible of all." "True Religion then and pleasing of God standeth not in making, setting up, painting, gilding, clothing and decking of dumb dead images, nor in kissing them, capping, kneeling, offering to them, set-

ting up of candles, hanging up of legs, arms, or whole bodies of wax before them, or praying, or asking of them, or of saints things belonging only to God to give. But all these things be vain and abominable and most damnable before God, wherefore, all such do not only bestow their money and labor in vain, but with them their pains and cost purchase to themselves God's wrath and indignation both of body and soul."

With the Anathema of Orthodox Sunday, and this quotation from our Homilies we might close this part of our subject, taking for granted that the opposition between the received Eastern, and Anglican standards was sufficiently obvious. But public attention has been awakened upon the question, and demands to be satisfied. Our age requires on every topic the entire truth. There is abroad over the world a spirit of historic honesty which deserves our admiration. Especially should a Christian never avert his gaze from facts. We are in sympathy with this ardent desire for the union of Christendom, but we wish to see it made permanent on the basis of Eternal Truth. An alliance of falsehood will vanish like a cloud. The men who desire lasting fellowship and are to be the instruments of its accomplishment, will never be controlled by an effervescent sentimentality. They will examine the subject in all its aspects. They will overcome opposing difficulty by persistent honesty. They will ever subordinate impulse to reason. Having premised this much, we are prepared to demonstrate from the offices, and the customs of the Eastern Church that its supplications to creatures are as multiplied, and objectionable as in the Roman Church. In all its services from birth to burial are the invocations of saints. They mingle in the private devotions of the people, and affect their whole lives. Icons must be kissed, and incensed and revered by the Priest in the celebration of the Holy Communion, and they afterwards receive homage from the congregation. The Sacramental elements are adored. But we will hasten to give the proofs accumulated by a long and laborious investigation of this subject. Our authorities run through more than a century from Covell to Neale. We might perhaps fill an entire number of the Review with these addresses, but to save space and time will extract a few petitions principally to the Holy Virgin.

"Most blessed Virgin, thou art the temple, and the gate, the palace, and the throne of the King, by whom Christ the Lord my Saviour was mani-

fested. Cease not thou most glorious, who hast a maternal influence with Him to pray for the salvation of our souls. Hail thou impervious gate of the Lord. Hail thou wall of protection to all who flee to thee. Hail thou who art the peaceful haven."

"Save us, oh most holy Virgin, make thy intercession, console thy servants, assuage their sufferings, cleanse their sins, and heal their sorrows."

"O thou immaculate, undefiled, incorruptible, most chaste and pure Virgin, Sovereign Bride of God—thou who art the only hope of those who despond, the ready help of those who flee unto thee, the refuge of all Christians, have mercy and compassion on me a sinner, and receive the prayers I offer unto thee with unhallowed lips—be present with me always through the bounty of thy grace and kindness—defend me in this life under thy safeguard and protection—turn aside the assaults of the enemies, and conduct me to Salvation and at the time of my departure preserve my miserable soul and drive from it all dark visions of subtle devils, deliver me in the dreadful day of judgment from eternal punishment, and make me an heir of the unspeakable glory of our God."

"Save the people, oh God, through the intercession of our most honorable Lady, the mother of God, and ever-virgin Mary, through the power of the glorious and life-giving Cross, through the aid of the heavenly, holy and immaculate virtues; of the venerable prophet, forerunner and baptist, John; of the holy, glorious and renowned Apostles; of our holy fathers, and universal great Doctors, Basil the Great, Gregory the Divine, and John Chrysostom; of St. Nicholas—of our holy Fathers the wonder-workers in all the Russias, Peter Alexis, Jonas and Philip, of the holy and glorious martyrs, and of all the Saints."

"O blessed Mother of God, open the gates of mercy unto those whose hope is in thee: let us not be confounded, but grant that through thee we may be delivered from affliction, for thou art the Salvation of the Christian race."

"Having transgressed the commands of God, we are turned into dust, but having shaken off the corruption of death, through thee, O Virgin, we are raised from earth to heaven."

We will perceive in these addresses that Mary is supplicated by every term which could be applied to our Lord. She is made the strength, the refuge, the help, the hope, the salvation of the Sinner. The frequent recurrence of her name, and the cherished presence of her image must always expel from the consciousness of the Greek Christian the conception of that mediation of her Divine Son by which alone the Scripture authorizes us to approach the Eternal Father. A more effectual idolatry can scarcely be conceived. The conclusion from the various offices we have examined is inevitable, that remembrances and intercessions of Saints are interwoven with every part of the lives of those vast nations which compose the Eastern Church, and the testimony of observa-

tion to the fact is unquestionable. The learned and exhaustive treatise of Neale, is the most recent and reliable authority upon the subject, and in no Latin office are these addresses more objectionable than those we will now quote from the *Mencæ* as given in his interesting pages.

"Virgin, blessed of God, as a benevolent advocate thou art proclaimed by the faithful, Mother of God, presenting our prayers to the Creator, procure propitiation for thy servants, as the all-sufficient salvation and propitiation of our souls."

"O thou noble athletes that had fellowship with God, and were enlightened by the divine rays, illuminate my soul, wash out the filth of our passions with the pure dew of your healings."

"At thy intercession, O spotless Virgin to the Word that was born of thee loose me from the bands of my sins, and save me lady by thy prayers."

"Joyously hath the holy and illustrious memory of the martyrs dawned upon us, enlightening the whole earth, dispersing the darkness of malice, driving away the clouds of the soul, and pouring forth the graces of healing. O athletes with bloody drops and wearing beautifully this purple, most celebrated ones, you reign forever with Christ our only King and God interceding for the world. Ever blessed is the earth with your blood, and the depositum of your robes and the Church of the first-born is gloriously illustrated with your wounds. In the which for the martyrs as martyrs supplicate for the world."

We now leave this part of the subject, and proceed to show in what way the Eastern Church receives the doctrine of Transubstantiation. But first a general remark is required. Modern controversialists have an exceedingly weak method of evading the obligatory power of authoritative standards. Certainly when a formula is discussed and adopted and promulgated, we cannot escape its binding force by exhibiting the difficulties and disagreements it previously encountered. In this precise manner the great *Œcumenical Creeds* are assaulted by their enemies. The stormy sessions of even the Council of *Nicæa* are not agreeable subjects of contemplation. Eternal Truth assumed her divine shape amid the most terrible conflicts of passion. Yet the Creed, in its simple majesty emerging from these tempests, with the sanction of the Universal Church, passes into her consciousness and is obligatory on our consciences without regard to the factions amid which it had birth. And similarly with regard to the Anglican and American standards. The time has passed for inquiries as to the disputes and parties preceding their adoption. Having received the impress of the proper

authority they henceforth come to us with the solemn sanctions of law. And the same is true in regard to the acknowledged confessions and councils of the Eastern Church. They indeed assumed their present form under some degree of Latin influence. Perhaps they may have originated in a selfish desire to please the Pope, and obtain the privilege of access to the tomb of our Lord, and the holy places about Jerusalem. It may be also true that individual Prelates, with superior intellectual advantages and spiritual illumination seek to effect their reform, or evade their obligation. Still, if they have been adopted by the Church, if they control the practice of the Church, if they have become the law of the Church and have entered into the very life of the Church, they can be our only guides when considering terms of communion, just as in any practical arrangement on the subject, the Orientals would be governed by our own Liturgy, and Articles, not by our dreary and tedious and partisan discussions of their origin and history.

With these preliminary remarks we approach "THE ORTHODOX CONFESSION OF THE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH." It was first composed as an exposition of Eastern doctrine by Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kieff, and one of the most distinguished Russian Divines. In the year A. D. 1643 it was revised by the Council of Jassy. Then it was authenticated by the signatures of the four Patriarchs, and according to Neale has become a "standard of doctrine" in the Eastern Church. Nectarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, prefaced it by a letter giving its history. It has been approved by Parthenius of Constantinople, Macarius of Antioch, Pasius of Jerusalem. Besides, there are attached to it the names of the Metropolitans, or Bishops of Ancyra, Larissa, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Rhodes, Methymene, Chios, and of thirteen Ecclesiastics of the great Church. We will remark here the use of the distinctive Greek word, and of the very terms employed by the Latins. In the exposition of the Sixth Article of Faith and of the Eucharist is language which needs no comment.

"Christ as to His Flesh, which He bore, is only in Heaven, and not upon earth, except when He is mystically in the Eucharist,—*κατα μετανοίαν*—by TRANSUBSTANTIATION, when the substance of the bread is changed into the substance of His body, and the substance of the wine into the substance of His blood, and therefore, we ought to glorify and worship the Eucharist in like manner as we worship our Saviour Jesus Himself."



Here is that very assertion in regard to substance, which, according to Dr. Pusey, characterizes the difference between the carnal Roman view and the spiritual Anglican doctrine. The obligation of adoration to the elements demonstrates the significance of the Exposition. It is easily inferable from the expressions of this standard what is intended by the Bishop's oath at Consecration.

"I believe, and understand that the TRANSUBSTANTIATION of the body and blood of Christ is effected by the influence and operation of the Holy Ghost, when the Bishop or Priest invokes God the Father in these words : 'And make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ.'"

The declarations of the Council at Bethlehem are even yet more explicit than the "Orthodox Confession." This Synod was assembled A. D. 1672. Its Articles, according to Blackmore, were first formally communicated to the Russian Church A. D. 1721, and sent to the English Church in that year as an ultimatum. They are interesting, because thus invested by a peculiar authority, and also as venerable evidences of pious but fruitless efforts towards union nearly two centuries since. An explicitness and detail will also be remarked more labored, and anxious than even the Canon of Trent. Besides, it is most grossly asserted that the body of our Saviour is received into the mouth, and passed down into the organs of digestion.

"We believe that in the celebration of this mystery, our Lord Jesus Christ is present, not in a figurative, or imaginary manner, nor by any excellency of grace, as some of the Fathers have said of Baptism, nor by impanation, nor by the substantial union of the Divinity of the Word with the bread that is set upon the altar, as the Lutherans ignorantly, and wretchedly think, but really, and indeed, so that after the consecration of the bread, the bread is changed, and transubstantiated, transformed into the very Body and Blood of our Lord, which was born in Bethlehem of the most pure Virgin, baptized in the river Jordan, suffered, was buried, rose again, ascended into Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, shall come again in the clouds of Heaven; and that the wine is converted, and transubstantiated into the very true Blood of the Lord, which was shed for the life of the world when He suffered on the Cross. *Further we believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine, the very bread and wine no longer remain, but the very Body and Blood of our Lord are distributed, and enter into the mouths and stomachs of the communicants.*"

With the last repulsive statement of the Council of Bethlehem we close our extracts from Eastern offices, and Eastern standards.



Waiving all questions touching the interpolation of the Nicene Creed, and the recognition of Anglican Orders, no pious desire for a united Christendom can blind us to differences relating to the error of Transubstantiation, and the worship of creatures. And taking for granted as demonstrated that the infection of superstition has diffused itself through the Oriental Church, we cannot but ask ourselves how it will be affected by this enthusiasm of welcome, which has brightened around one of its most lordly and magnificent and aspiring dignitaries? The telegraph from London doubtless kept flashing the joyous news to every part of the Orient. Such inspiring intelligence must have kindled unknown gratulation in St. Petersburg, and Moscow, and Athens, and Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and over the Mediterranean Isles, and all the vast regions under the shadow of the venerable Eastern Church. To people, Priests, Bishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, it must have seemed the auspicious harbinger of Anglican submission to an acknowledged Oriental superiority. True, there was no formal ecclesiastic recognition, but the desire for union, without regard to conditions or standards, for the moment burst over every barrier. Now supposing the Homilies on Idolatry, adopted by the English Articles, and hence subscribed by English Clergymen are true, how can the English Church, without abandoning her own solemn and recorded Protests, perform any act which shall encourage Eastern Christians in superstitious belief, or practice? When these perceive such an indiscriminating anxiety, and such a forgetful approbation; when they see their representative feasted by the dignitaries of London, and honored by the scholars of Oxford; when they hear that Archiepiscopal delegates were commissioned to watch his Oriental splendors sparkle over the consecrated altar, they can only feel that there is an intended oblivion of past differences, and be encouraged in the worship of the saint, and the adoration of the host. The effect on the whole communion may be read in the effect upon Alexander himself. A Greek paper states he asserted that Anglicans, feeling their weakness, and recoiling from Latin usurpation, were seeking a centre of support in the Holy Eastern Church. Certainly, however, amid all the brilliance of the late reception both parties must have been secretly conscious that beneath the glare was a concealed hollowness. Or are the English Homilies, like the Miracles and Mysteries of

our Religion, to be henceforth regarded as myths? Perhaps the Articles which authorize their burning protests are the relics of a forgotten age. What was once condemned superstition is now lawful worship. The adoration of the creature, which was damnation in the sixteenth century, is salvation in the nineteenth century.

But we must inquire moreover, what is the impression produced by the adulation shown Alexander upon the Anglican Church herself. We gave in a former number of this Review a demonstration that there were in her midst a few extremists who proclaimed their belief in Transubstantiation and encouraged supplication to the saints. Their prayers of invocation were then confined to private offices. Recently we are told a petition in the public congregation has ascended to the spirit of St. Paul. Is it not to be feared that this confined tendency may be fostered and enlarged by a welcome which could only make the Orientals cling more closely to their ancient and cherished superstitions? When we read the strong rebukes of the Homilies and the distinct protests of the Articles; when we remember that idolatries by our fathers were resisted unto chains, unto blood, unto fire; when we reflect what clergymen have publicly written, and preached, and practiced, without reproof, or punishment, we cannot but fear, that in the glow of a mere sentimentalism, the instincts of the Church have been blunted in regard to the indignant rebukes of her own standards, and the terrible denunciation of the Scriptures. What was true in the day of Moses, and true in the day of Cranmer is true in the day of the Archbishop of Syra.

Nor can we forget in all our public acts their effect on bodies of Christians rejecting Episcopal ordination. To those, as we shall show hereafter, no concession of principle can be made, yet, we cannot overlook the fact that while many have been gained from our Communion to Rome, and few from Rome to our Communion, that we are yet constantly increasing from the ranks of the most influential denominations. Recently a remarkable discourse from a Congregational pulpit has been scattered over our country by our own press, and is showing how thoughtful men are impressed by our conservative genius, our venerable antiquity, and our majestic Liturgy. These are steps in the process towards a belief in our Divine Institution, and our Episcopal Order. Clergymen most

highly gifted, and cultivated, having passed these preliminary gradations, are thoughtfully abandoning positions of influence, and emolument, and submitting to the hands of our Bishops. Every alliance with Mediævalism, which concedes the protests of our Homilies, and our Articles is an unlawful barrier in the path of such honest inquirers for the peace, and order and security of the ONE HOLY CATHOLIC and APOSTOLIC CHURCH. While fruitless in producing union in one direction it is shutting the door of access in another direction.

Besides in all that has been said, and written in regard to unifying Christendom it is taken for granted that our differences merely lie in Creeds, and Confessions, and Articles. They are infinitely deeper. They spring moreover from inheritance. They flow in the blood. They are perpetuated in the daily customs, which mark the private and public lives of men belonging to vast nations. They involve distinctions between great races. They connect themselves with contrarieties in the imaginative genius of the Oriental and the dominating genius of the Latin, and the overmastering genius of the Saxon. Scholars in the retirement of collegiate retreats, and Clergymen in the resolutions of public assemblies, cannot by paring away standards, and extending hospitalities, remove the barriers of centuries.

Is the hope of unity then to be forever abandoned? Shall these bright visions of love be dissipated like the clouds of a morning? Shall we retreat again into the dismal realms of an icy selfishness, and despair? We, answer, never. *Let us find the basis of a true unity in our own Prayer-Book* viewed as a substantial reproduction of the Primitive Church by the English Reformation. But we are not to mutilate its parts. We are not to set Liturgy, against Articles, and Articles against Liturgy. We are to accept, to believe, to glory in its entirety if not its details, as the authorized interpretation of the Holy Scripture by the Holy Church. We are to receive its great teaching in regard to Order and Doctrine, and Sacraments and boldly proclaim it to the world as the depositum of a common Faith, the symbol of a common Worship, and the pledge of a common fellowship for Christendom. Relying on Truth and God, our Christian manhood must neither lean on the senile decrepitude of Mediæval communions, or depend on the wild vigor of denominational bodies. It is not ours to seek from others the

staff of tottering age, or the support of lawless youth. We declare God has committed to our earthen vessel a Heavenly Treasure. We say to that part of unreformed Christendom having a true ecclesiastical Order, "The Holy Ghost, in the morning of the Reformation poured upon the eyes of our Anglican Fathers the bright light of the Apostolic Church, and placed before their gaze its Divine Model. Renounce the mediæval dogma of Transubstantiation! Abandon your supplication to images, and your worship to saints! Quench your purgatorial fires! Close your compulsory confessional! Cease your unauthorized indulgences! Take the chain from the Bible! Content with Papal Primacy, yield Papal Supremacy, and Papal infallibility. Accept the English Reformation of the sixteenth century, in its great aspects, as a reproduction of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church as instituted by Jesus Christ our common Lord, and you contribute peace to Christendom."

Any other position is an eternal discord with our genius, our history, and our standards. Articles, Homilies, and Martyrdoms rise up in protest against every departure from such essential conditions in the direction of a forced and unnatural and impossible unity.

On the contrary, let us honestly say to that part of reformed Christendom rejecting a true ecclesiastical Order, "We rejoice that to so great an extent you have retained the orthodox doctrines of the Scriptures. We respect your sincerity. We admire your zeal. We commend your works. We esteem your piety. We are glad that on so many points we agree and sympathize. But we must be honest. The declaration of our ordinal, the requirements of our canons, the exclusiveness of our pulpits are proofs to all the world, that we believe in the necessity of Episcopal Ordination to a valid ministry. You trace your visible organization to some distinguished man, while we trace our visible organization to our Divine Lord. We believe the Holy Ghost regenerates in Baptism the dedicated infant and the penitent believer, while you usually deny the doctrine. We would feast spiritually by faith on the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ present to the soul in the Holy Communion, while you too often regard such a view of the Eucharist as inseparable from Transubstantiation. We hold these truths as Scriptural, as Apostolic, as Catholic, and when

you accept them in heart and practice, you contribute peace to Christendom."

We appeal to the consciousness of every Churchman whether this is not our true position before God, and man. England finds this conception limited, and fettered by connection with the State. In our own country it is left to its free development. Let it be blazoned on our American standards. Let it be preached by our Bishops, proclaimed by our Clergymen, believed by our people, acknowledged by our General Convention. Let it force all rebellious extremes to bow before the majesty of law. It will be our strength, our glory, our victory. It will send a thrill through America. It will prove a power over the world. If ever Christendom be united, we repeat, it must be on the basis of our Prayer-Book given to the world by our Fathers as a mirror of the Primitive Church—alterable, when expedient, in its details, but *never* in its CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

We know this is rejected as a narrow view, and that it too often awakes scorn, and ridicule, and hatred. Alarmed by assaults of prejudice on either hand, it is to be feared the Church has not yet risen to the lofty position of her venerable standards. And it is for this very reason we make ourselves liable to the taunt that we are but a small, rich, aristocratic sect, great in pretensions, and little in achievement. One party to demonstrate its Catholicity affects Rome, and the other party to demonstrate its Catholicity affects Sectism. Catholicity is not in such courses. Catholicity is in the Creed, in the heart, in the life. Catholicity shows itself by the largeness of its spirit, the largeness of its faith, and the largeness of its effort. That Catholicity which would bring Mediaeval Christianity through the fires of another Reformation, and bring Denominationalism to the recognition of Episcopal Order, and bring a world into the Apostolic Church, can never be reproached for a contracting bigotry. It resembles the universal air which sinking into the valley, and enfolding the mountain, embraces our globe.

Nor is the widest Catholicity inconsistent with a certain respect due our Saxon race. The Greeks, indeed, extend their shadow over vast and venerable regions. Memory connects them in the past with Attic culture and Spartan heroism. Their Patriarch still lingers around St. Sophia waiting in hope for the day when not the crescent, but the cross will gleam over Constantinople.

The sacred soil of Judea, and the boundless regions of Russia are the witnesses of their rites, while their very name is associated with the original language of the New Testament, and of the Nicene Creed, and of a long line of erudite Fathers. The Latins, extending their sway from imperial Rome as a centre, exert a moulding power over nations in every part of the world, and perpetuate the glory of the ancient city and empire in the stately magnificence of St. Peter's and the unrivalled autocracy of the Pope. These Churches have over wide territories and among multiplied millions preserved and spread the essential truths of Christianity. But they have also added to them numerous corrupting dogmas, and practices. They exhibit a diffused mediævalism. They are allied to a fossilized past. They are alienated from the sympathies of the age. They have placed themselves as barriers across the path of modern civilization. They are hostile to the genius of that progress which is bringing the world to knowledge and liberty and the Gospel. They need the new life infused by the Reformation of the Sixteenth century, and from which has sprung the truest glory of our humanity. On the contrary, the Anglican Church, purified in the fires of martyrdom, has stood forth for a grander mission, having had most largely under her control that vigorous Saxon race whose work has been to extend over the globe with the English language, Truth and Freedom in their noblest forms. She has displayed in her career both conservatism and progress. She has preserved what was most valuable in the Past, and should keep herself in sympathy with the Present, that she may conquer the Future. She can directly and indirectly claim those intellects and those achievements, which, in Britain and America have most impressed our age, and conferred on civilization all that is most useful in possession, and most brilliant in promise. Now shall the Church of that land which has thus illumined our humanity humiliate herself before these Mediæval Communions, isolated from modern ideas, and *beg* of them recognition and fellowship? Shall she who should be the teacher, assume the attitude of the pupil? Shall she whose limbs were unfettered by the Reformation again seek the manacles of her dungeon? Shall she who has not only the Apostolic Order but the Scriptural Faith, with importuning gaze, place herself as a suppliant before venerable communions who have overlaid truth



with superstition, and who impose practices and conditions, and dogmas on the world wholly unknown to Primitive Christianity? Such a course sacrifices her dignity, degrades her position, destroys her influence, and falsifies her mission. It is indeed treason to the race, and to the age, as well as to her destiny.

Wisdom would seem to teach that the Anglican Church, considering the Reformation as a revival of pure Christianity, caught and fixed in her Liturgy, and her Articles should not exhibit a restless and puerile haste for unity, but watch those germs of progress which are gradually appearing both in the Greek Church and the Latin Church. Every man like the late learned, and pious and gifted Philaret of Moscow must be a centre of light, and emit beams which are bright harbingers of a coming illumination. We have reason to believe that there are many Ecclesiastics and Laymen among the Orientals who deplore the ignorance of the clergy and the superstition of the people. In the Roman Church, the Pope, and his Jesuits have evidently alienated themselves forever from the genius of the period, and Döllinger, and Gratry and Hyacinthe, and the most gifted spirits of the communion, are perhaps unconsciously shaping a Reformation, which may exhibit the restorative power of the sixteenth century without its excesses and defects. Now Anglicans should foster these tendencies. They should cherish intimacy with these heroic men. They should spread the knowledge of their principles. They should above all supplicate the power of the Holy Ghost, whose fires can consume mountains of opposition, and whose breath alone can create a new world of light, and love, and beauty. Then, when the Eastern Church and the Western Church, by the Providence and Spirit of God, have been purified and reformed, there will be a prospect of solid and enduring union with the Anglican Church, while all denominations of Christians, impressed with such a spectacle of restored unity might be irresistibly impelled to their fellowship, and give to the world a triumphant Christianity. And thus might be realized a true Ecumenical Council—that cherished vision of pious souls—which would be a prophecy and pledge of millennial light and victory. An attempt to assemble such a body without a deep and searching process, which should penetrate and revolutionize the opinions, the observances, the customs of vast nations and races, would be adding confusion to chaos. Our Divine Head does not permit Greeks, and Romans, and Anglicans to meet when



their disputes in regard to precedence, and orders, and dogmas, and practices would tear the world in pieces. He does not allow before the age such a strife of passions as could only find its equal in the blaze of Pandemonium. He does not suffer truth to be blackened and disfigured while infidels laugh and demons mock. But on the contrary, when our prayers and efforts achieve the needed Reform; when the circumstances of the world without, and the impulse of the Church within are brought into harmony; when the hour arrives not hastened by the restless impatience of man, but appointed in the eternal plans of Jehovah, then an Ecumenical Council will prove the unity of Christendom. Even sectarianism may seek repose under its tranquil shadow. The Pope, vacating his temporal throne, repudiating his forged decretals, abjuring his pretended supremacy, abandoning his fancied infallibility may find yielded to him his lawful precedence, until at last, when believing Israel is gathered home, the later superiority of imperial Rome yields to the primitive primacy of venerable Jerusalem restored in the millennial era of the "One Holy Catholic, and Apostolic Church."

Such a future seems indeed distant. It presumes faith and works and prayer. It is not attractive to a shallow sentimentalism. It is not stimulating in the speeches of dinner-parties, and the resolutions of assemblies. It is not exhilarating to excitable youth. It may not kindle such a blaze of hospitalities as brightened over England. But to secure such a result is the inspiring work of the noblest Christian manhood. Let all brave spirits in both the Anglican and the American Church pledge themselves before heaven to seek its consummation. Yet must it always be remembered that the union of gigantic communions severed during centuries by antagonisms of race, and of opinion, and of custom must be necessarily gradual if it would be certainly enduring. Those barriers of sands and rocks which separate oceans, have stood for ages across the path of commerce, and must yield slowly to the advances of humanity, but bold faith and persistent labor will finally subdue their resistance, and over mingling waters will be an unobstructed highway for the nations. Thus in the time and plan of God may we indulge the hope that the mountains dividing Christendom will be leveled, and all sections of the ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH flow together in a universal fellowship, the type and pledge of an Eternal Communion.

## BOOK NOTICES.

SERMONS BY HENRY MELVILL, B. D., *Minister of Camden Chapel, Camberwell, and Chaplain to the Tower of London. Formerly Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Comprising all the Discourses published by the consent of the Author; Edited by the Right Reverend C. P. McIlvaine, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio. In two volumes, Eleventh thousand. James Miller, Publisher, 647 Broadway, New York.*

Three qualities seem essential to distinguished excellence in the pulpit. The most necessary is to have head, and heart and life pervaded and controlled by the Gospel. It must be imbibed like the atmosphere, which entering through the lungs into the blood, becomes incorporated with every part of the body. If the preacher has not his whole nature rooted in the Orthodox Faith he is soon detected and exposed by the consciousness of the Church. Some unsubdued temper, some casual expression, some unguarded act will inevitably betray his unsoundness and laxity. But there are moreover, needed the intellectual grasp of great principles, and that ardor of fancy and of temperament which can present truth in attractive and commanding forms. How far the accomplishments of elocution are requisite is difficult to determine. These are unquestionably found in popular orators like Whitefield, and Summerfield; but Edwards and Chalmers have produced great effects in defiance of all the rules of art, and the manner of Melvill is characterized by the most striking defects. His frame is feeble. His chest labors. His delivery is exhausting. He seems like a soul always ready to burst the body. In the very midst of his discourse he stops for breath, and the pause is equally a relief to his own quivering frame, and his sympathetic audience. Yet despite his vehement and even painful delivery, there is in Melvill a resistless power. His soul is charged with the truths of the Gospel like a battery with electricity, and the subtle influence is communicated to the spirits of his audience. His intellect is large. His imagination is brilliant. His ardor is intense. His style is strong and fervid and picturesque. Often he seems to glow with the inspiration of a prophet. Indeed you cannot account on natural principles for the effects of his discourses, and are compelled to the conclusion that in the sanctity of his closet he has drawn down on himself, and his hearers, that unction of the Holy Ghost which is after all the mightiest impulse of the pulpit. Melvill has often almost the gorgeousness and greatness of Chalmers, with far more that satisfies the heart, and affects the life of the Christian. Next to Liddon we prefer him to any modern preacher. He is not indeed a model for mediocrity, but notwithstanding obvious defects, he is a proof to the world of that intellectual and spiritual superiority which constitutes one of the defences and attractions of the Church. Before giving a single quotation to exhibit the characteristic style of Melvill, we remark that one ex-

cellence of his sermons is, that he abounds in simple, but most interesting and impressive Scriptural exposition. We must, however, hasten to the extract taken from the Sermon entitled:—"THE HUMILIATION OF THE MAN, CHRIST JESUS."

"It must be blasphemous to speak of properties of Godhead as laid aside, or even suspended. But Christ 'emptied himself' of the glories and majesties to which he had claim, and which, as he sat on the throne of the heavens, he possessed in unmeasured abundance. Whatsoever he was as to nature and essence, whilst appearing among the angels in the form of God, that he continued to be still, when, in the form of a servant, he walked the scenes of human habitation. But then the *glories* of the form of God, these for a while he altogether abandoned. If, indeed, he had appeared upon earth—as, according to the dignity of his nature, he had a right to appear—in the majesty and glory of the Highest, it might be hard to understand what riches had been lost by divinity. The scene of display would have been changed. But the splendor of display being unshorn and undiminished, the armies of the sky might have congregated round the Mediator, and given in their full tale of homage and admiration. But oh, it was poverty that the Creator should be moving on a province of his own empire, and yet not be recognized, or confessed by his creatures. It was poverty that, when he walked amongst men, scattering blessings as he trode, the anthem of praise floated not around him, and the air was often burdened with the curse, and the blasphemy. It was poverty that as he passed to and fro through the tribes whom he had made, and whom he had come down to redeem, scarce a solitary voice called him blessed, scarce a solitary hand was stretched in friendship, and scarce a solitary roof ever proffered him shelter. And when you contrast this deep and desolate poverty with that exuberant wealth which had always been his own whilst heaven continued the scene of his manifestations—a wealth of the anthem-pearl of ecstasy from a million rich voices, and of the solemn bowing down of sparkling multitudes, and of the glowing homage of immortal hierarchies, whenever he showed forth his power, or his purposes—ye cannot fail to perceive that, in taking upon him flesh, the Eternal Son descended most literally from abundance to want, and that, though he continued just as mighty as before, just as infinitely gifted with all the stores and resources of essential divinity the transition was so total from the reaping in of glory from the whole field of the universe to the receiving comparatively nothing of his revenues of honor, that we may assert without reserve that He who was rich, for our sakes, became poor. 'In the form of God' he had acted as it were, visibly amid the enraptured plaudits of angel and archangel, cherubim and seraphim. But now in the form of man, he must be withdrawn from the delighted inspection of the occupants of heaven, and act as powerfully indeed as before, but mysteriously and, invisibly, behind a dark curtain of flesh, and on the dreary platform of a sin-burdened territory."

In Discourses of Melvill edited by the venerable Bishop of Ohio, we are also pleased to find not only great and glowing declarations of the Salvation of the Gospel, but unequivocal tokens of recognition of the Church. Surely of all men, he who most distinctly acknowledges the divinity of her Institution, and the power of her Sacraments, and the inviolability of her Order, should also most effectually proclaim that holy Faith of which she is the guardian, and the witness. We will dismiss these volumes with some quotations, that, connected with our previous extract, will illustrate our meaning, and not involve the tediousness of comment.

"He has provided, by keeping up a succession of men who derive authority, in un-

broken series from the first teachers of the faith, for the continued preaching of his Word, and administration of his Sacraments. And thus he hath been all along the great Minister of His Church; delegating, indeed, power to inferior ministers who 'have the treasure in earthen vessels,' but superintending their appointments, as the universal Bishop, and evangelizing, so to speak, his vast Diocese through their instrumentality. We contend that you have no true idea of a Church, unless you thus recognize in its ordinances, not merely the institution of Christ, but His actual and energizing Presence."

We scarcely know anything more true or more churchly than what follows.

"We will not now speak of Baptism, because, full of virtue as we believe that ordinance to be, it is only partaken of once, and that in our infancy, so that we do not go up to the Sanctuary to be sprinkled with its *regenerating waters*. But the other Sacrament of Christianity, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is, we believe, the *chief instituted means of spiritual sustenance*, and in this we are continually invited by the Church to participate. It is difficult to speak of this Sacrament without using terms which may be liable to the being misunderstood, or misinterpreted. But we must not refrain, on that account, from expressing our sense of the awful majesty of the ordinance, and of the vast benefits it conveys to the faithful communicant. We do not, we cannot regard the bread and the wine merely as signs and emblems, we rather consider them as becoming *through the act of consecration, in some most efficient though spiritual sense, the Body and Blood of our Saviour, and as such the vehicles of grace to the soul of the believer.*"

Melvill's fine taste and fervid fancy and cultivated soul could not be insensible to the influences produced by Architecture. How beautifully he expresses his sentiments!

"Even the building will have its effect, so that they are much to be blamed who hold it to be unimportant whether Churches be mean, or magnificent structures. Who has not been conscious of the power of a Cathedral, the power to excite lofty emotions, and soaring thoughts? a power as though arch and pillar were indeed haunted by Deity, so solemnizing, and spirit-stirring are they as they surround and canopy the worshippers, like the stately trunks and sheltering boughs of a forest from whose depths come the utterances of God?"

And now we cannot refrain from remarking that the publication of this volume by the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Ohio, seems a harbinger of peace. In his preface he indeed says that he is "not prepared to concur with its author in some minor thoughts, and incidental ideas," and thus virtually endorses the views of Melvill on these fundamental questions touching the Order and Sacraments of the Church. Such expressions of opinion by the leading expounder of evangelical doctrines in America show how consistently the scheme which has for its centre faith in the atonement of our Incarnate God may be held in connection with the Apostolic Succession, Regeneration in Baptism, and a belief that the Holy Communion is the "chief instituted means of spiritual sustenance," so that the emblems "become through the act of consecration in some most efficient though *spiritual sense, the Body and Blood of our Saviour, and as such the vehicles of grace to the soul of the believer.*" These sermons of Melvill as approved by Bishop McIlvaine, should be the basis of a true internal unity in the American Church.

SERMONS PREACHED IN ST. JAMES' CHAPEL, YORK STREET, LONDON. *By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M. A., Honorary Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen.* Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1869.

Here we have a volume of Sermons by a Clergyman of the Church of England almost in the style of American Unitarianism. You might expect such discourses in the pulpit of Dr. Bellows. The position of Mr. Frothingham may be reached after a few years in the descending scale. Yet it must not be inferred that there is anything irreverential in the spirit, or offensive in the expressions of Mr. Brooke; on the contrary, the style while frequently sharp and incisive, is also frequently delicate, and touching, and in several instances glows into the impassioned, and the eloquent. Indeed the earnestness of a sincere soul pervades this volume which constantly moves your sad sympathies even painfully, until you find yourself borne along encircled by a spell. What is the secret of your fascination, and your sorrow? The answer is not difficult. In the Church of England, whose Faith expressed in her Creeds and Offices and Articles, is fixed as the foundations and pillars of her venerable Cathedrals, so that every worshiper through the death of our Divine Lord, and the grace of the Holy Ghost may approach with filial confidence the throne of the Eternal Father, you find a Clergyman of brilliant gifts, and seemingly sincere, who has vowed his life in defence of the Truth, instead of standing immovably in his Christian principles, as the walls of the majestic edifice devoted to Jesus Christ, is a doubtful inquirer, himself needing instruction in fundamental doctrines, wandering uncertainly about the altar, and discoursing confusedly from the pulpit. Mr. Brooke has indeed studied the age. He has given attention to science. He is in sympathy with the present. But he has adopted a theory, fatal to his peace and power, that the supernatural of the Scripture is a relic of a fossilized past. He has cut himself loose from the fixed Faith of the Church, and is drifting on towards that wide sea of German Rationalism, where so many gifted spirits have been wrecked, and from which some in this country, long tossed around in its whirling circles, are emerging into peace, and hope. His sermons evince a deep evil of the times. Viewed in connection with the appointment of Dr. Temple they are startling. When Unitarians exult in the consecration of an English Bishop, and publish the Discourses of an English Clergyman we know assuredly how they regard certain elements in the English Church. We fear in our own country there are a few men most respectable for talent, and culture, and piety, who, while at present orthodox, yet have a certain secret sympathy with the bold and progressive spirit of Anglican Rationalism, and who innocentlly assuming its party-name, may find themselves in a false position, and be at last compelled into its party-associations, and its party-principles. Having spoken thus freely we propose making a few extracts from these sermons of Mr. Brooke both to show the beauty of his style, and the truth of our assertions. In the Discourse on "The Denial of St. Peter," with occasional approaches to sentimentalism, there are often great felicity and power. Before proceeding to the exceptionable passages we give the following:

"Blessed is he whose life has been pure, on whom the stars smile with the same smile with which they greeted his boyhood, from whom the sea hides no dark memories, in whose ear music is always sweet, who can revisit after years the haunts of the past, and no ghastly phantom come to bring back the exiled memory of guilt to chill his blood, and sear his brain. For there is nothing really dead in this world. You have buried your sin! but it is only buried as the hurried murderer buries the corpse of his victim, with a thin layer of light sand. You pass it by and inadvertently tread upon its grave. A skeleton arm starts up, and points to heaven, and to you. There is nothing really forgotten. One touch, one sound, one sight, the murmur of a stream, a breaking wave, the sound of a church-bell, the barking of a dog heard in the still evening from a hill, a green path in the wood with the sunlight glinting on it, the way of the moon upon the waters, may at certain moments, turn the heart to stone, and fill life with a concentrated agony of remorse. Immediately the cock crew. Then Peter remembered the word of the Lord, and he went out, and wept bitterly. The second circumstance which pierced the heart of Peter was the look of Christ. It is probable that at the very moment when Peter raised his voice in cursing, Jesus was led out of the hall of Caiaphas, and through the court. He heard His disciple's last denial and the crowing of the cock. 'Thou too, who wouldst die with me, thou deniest: thou the man of rock, my friend, my follower.' The silent glance was vocal with regret and love, and Peter saw the miserable depth of his fall in the look of Christ, saw there, not the reproach of anger, but the reproach of tenderness. The arrow of that look went deep. His heart was broken with pain. He feared no more his enemies, nor danger, nor yet death, for in his own heart he bore a pang deeper than death could give. 'He went out and wept bitterly.' Bitter tears they were; but they made him a new man. It was the moment of Peter's true conversion. We have seen him impetuous and brave, but self-confident and imprudent. We have seen him eager in love and anger, but drifting into neglect of friendship, and passing into dishonor. We have seen him as leader of the Apostolic group, confessing Christ as the Son of God, and when the hour of trial came, denying Christ as Master and Friend. We see him now broken in spirit, self-shamed, fallen from his high estate, alone and desolate in heart, leaning against the wall, in the bitter dawn of the spring-morning, his whole frame shaken with the weeping of a heroic man. Yes! heroic, for Peter was greater than he had ever been as yet. He passed in those awful tears from a state of childhood to a state of manhood. It is strange how little we imagine in our youth, when the path of life is woven of the sun-beam, and the rainbow, how deeply and bitterly we may yet weep in after life. But till those tears, or their equivalent come on us we are not men, but children. Life has not opened to us its terrible but dignifying secrets. We have not yet trodden the inner shrine, the portal of which is kept by sacred sorrows. This was the hour which had now come to St. Peter. "A deep distress had humanized his soul." A deep sorrow had begun within the formation of a new character strong as a rock, on which his brethren, and the Church were to repose. A spiritual convulsion had revolutionized his life and made him into a man."

Now we are compelled to turn from so much truthfulness in thought and felicity in expression to another picture. Mr. Brooke, without a single appeal to Scripture, simply through his own individual sympathies and preferences, adopts the Restorationism of Origen, condemned by the Catholic Church, and discourses precisely in the style of a Universalist preacher.

"Is that work ever to cease?" "Yes," answer some; "it will cease when all the redeemed are gathered in, when the number of the elect is complete." And where are the rest, we ask, the million who have not reached your elect-standard? "They are in hell forever," is the reply, deepening in evil, baffled revenge and hate, consuming and ruinous despair, growing darker and fiercer against God the good, from day to day of



everlasting punishment. Is that the cessation of God's work? Is that the result of the magnificent work of Christ? Is that the lame and impotent conclusion of the organization of the Church of Christ? Is that the end of the war against evil? Then I can say that it seems no triumph at all to me, but ignominious defeat. Then good is not omnipotent; for it is impotent to root out evil. Then love is not lord of all, for it cannot conquer hatred. What blessedness have I in heaven, if my brethren are forever doomed to hell? It is no heaven to me; I have no union of spirit with God. I feel as the old Frank warrior felt when he came to baptism. "Where are my ancestors?" "In hell forever," said the priest. "Then I prefer to join them."

Surely you might imagine this a Discourse of Dr. Chapin. We cannot conceive how a man, apparently so ingenuous as Mr. Brooke, can say the words of the Litany, "from thy wrath and from *everlasting* damnation," or of the Burial office, "deliver us not into the bitter pains of *eternal* death," and not feel that he is falsifying the doctrines he has sworn to defend, and insulting the Church from which he derives his support.

Of course with a denial of endless punishment to the wicked, goes a denial of the Atonement of our Lord. A few sentences from Mr. Brooke will show those logical necessities by which one error produces another in inevitable sequence:

"There are not a few who still blindly think that suffering proves God's anger. Has the Cross taught us nothing better than that, revealed to us no hidden secret? Not the explanation given by a fierce theology, that there we see God's necessary anger expended on a surety, but the healing truth that there God's love died for the sake of man, and that the self-sacrifice did not expiate wrath, but manifesting eternal life, was necessarily the salvation of man from death."

And to illustrate the signification of such teaching, we have the heroes who die on battle fields for liberty styled "redeemers," in the very sense in which the author esteems our Saviour who expired on the cross; in his view, not as a propitiation, but as an example. We do not believe Mr. Brooke ever celebrated without a secret reservation, the Holy Communion, when he repeats the words:

"Thou of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death on the Cross for our redemption, who made there by his one oblation of himself once offered a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

Recently we have seen in the learned Articles on "Soteriology," in this Review how the doctrine of vicarious atonement is taught in all ages by the Fathers of the Catholic Church.

We venture to affirm, that it can be demonstrated that Mr. Brooke declares opinions in this volume which logically and inevitably tear away the very basis of our faith in the Mysteries of our Holy Religion, and would reduce Christianity to a mere system of naturalism, where the central object is our Saviour living and dying, as an example of virtue to mankind. Avowing the sentiments of the following extract, he certainly has no solid reason for believing in the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Incarnation, or the Resurrection, in any manner which can consistently keep him in the communion of the Catholic Church. Lesson, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, every time he reads our



holy service, must, from lecturn and altar, start some reproving image to arouse or alarm his conscience. His subsequent admission that Christ "con-descended" to the "weakness" of the Jews, and "did many mighty works," when closely examined, in no degree relieves the charge of Rationalism which we most unhesitatingly prefer against a subscribed and supported Clergyman of the Church of England. We part painfully from the interesting and brilliant sermons of a gifted, but misguided man, by quoting from a discourse called "The Religion of Signs:"

"From the ancient days of the people of Israel, when Moses, knowing the character of his nation, asked of God that he would vouchsafe to him a sensible sign to show as proof of his mission until the time of Christ, we find among the Jews the craving for signs and wonders. They desired material proof for spiritual things; they demanded that every revelation should be accredited by miracles. It was through the gate of the senses, and under the guidance of wonder, not through the gate of the spirit and under the guidance of faith, that they entered the temple of religion. Now this was absolutely a childish position. The child is the scholar of the senses, but it is a disgrace to a man to be their slave. The child may believe that the moon is self-luminous; it is through the believing that error that he finds out its erroneousness—but it is ridiculous, for him who has examined the question, not to say: My senses are wrong. It is spiritual childishness which believes that a doctrine or a man's life is true because of a miracle. The miracle speaks for the most part to the senses, and the senses can tell us nothing of the spiritual world. It is spiritual manhood which out of a heart educated by the experience arising from the slow rejection of error, can say with spiritual truth, 'It is so, it must be so. I have the witness of it within, and though a thousand miracles were to suggest the denial of it, I should cling to it unswervingly.' His says of our Saviour: 'His greatest utterances, where all was great, were spoken in a spirit contrary to this religion of the senses. He threw men back upon the witnesses of their own heart. He swept away with fierce and pregnant words all the jugglery and superstitious ceremonial with which men had overloded the simple idea of God, and he called them back to natural life and feeling, to child-like trust in a Father ever near to them, to a simple and pure morality. But at the same time he presented to their effort a grand ideal, which, though it seemed too high for human nature, has yet stirred and exalted men as no other ideal has done."

Thus what the Germans call "instinct," what Dr. Temple styled "con-science," is by Mr. Brooke denominated a "witness," and something within the man must, through his own consciousness, decide on the truth of the Word of God. We inquire—Does the writer believe the Mysteries of the Faith to which he stands pledged before earth and heaven? Does he look in his own spirit for the proof of the Trinity? Does he find a witness within to the truth of the Incarnation? Does he perceive in the soul a demonstration of the Resurrection of the body? Nay! he cannot find even in creation a trace of these mysteries. He utterly errs in confounding the proofs of Christianity with the truths of Christianity. The proofs are sensible; the truths are spiritual. The proofs are addressed to bodily organs—the truths appeal to spiritual faculties. The proofs are facts—the truths are principles. Miracles are indeed the only foundation for our belief in Mysteries, but when we receive the Mysteries we need not despise the Miracles, as the Astronomer does not discard those principles of the science which irresistibly control the universe because he has demonstrated their truth so sensibly through his telescope.

We have dwelt long on this volume because we perceive in it peril to the Faith. We have been taught to admire the English government. We have been taught to venerate the English Church. We have been taught to eulogize the English nation. But if such rationalism poisoning the whole life of Faith has to be tolerated on account of the establishment: if the name of a Clergyman must give all the sanction of his position to increase the circulation of such error: if Socinians and Infidels are to exult over publications strengthening their views from such a source, and there is no other remedy, it would be far better that every revenue of the Anglican Church should be seized by the State, and appropriated to the people, than that preachers of falsehood should through Episcopal ordination be commissioned as angels of truth.

**APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.** *By Arthur A. Haddan, D.D., Rector of Barton-on-the-Heath, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Rivingtons, London, Oxford and Cambridge. Pott & Amery, New York, 1869.*

The doctrine of the Apostolic Succession has a vital connection with our view of the divine institution of the Church. We claim our Lord as our Founder. But if there were any interruption in the descent we would have to trace our organization not, as now, to Jesus Christ, but to some Calvin, or Fox, or Wesley. Therefore the authenticity and dignity of our commission as ambassadors of Heaven are involved in such inquiries as those so ably prosecuted by Mr. Haddan. That men impressed with lofty views of the importance of the succession, would use every effort to preserve each link in the chain winding through the ages, is antecedently probable, and when we add to the presumption an actual list of names sacredly guarded, we support our claim not only with strong but satisfying proof. Still the subject is one which needs to be frequently and carefully stated. Mr. Haddan has brought to his task sound judgment, balanced faculties, extensive learning, liberal feeling, and earnest conviction. His presentation of the argument in regard to Archbishop Parker's consecration is not only admirable, but unsurpassed. He absolutely demolishes the silly stories of the Romanists. We are sorry that the style of Mr. Haddan is labored, involved, and inelegant, and we can scarcely conceive how a man of such intellect and culture could ever have permitted himself to become so unattractive as a writer. Yet while his argument is not expressed with grace it is never deficient in interest. It is also gratifying to remark how cheerfully our author concedes that in the Scriptural period of the primitive Church the *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος* were used interchangeably, so that the three orders of the ministry existed as now in fact, but not in designation. Strong conviction is evinced by honest concession, and truth can never be confirmed by maintaining error. Mr. Haddan's statements in regard to religious organizations not having ministers within the Apostolic Succession, are wise and excellent. He guards the sacredness of the divine order without harshness towards lamented ignorance. But we will conclude our notice by showing in the words of our author his view of his subject.

"I. First then—to begin at the fountain-head—belief in an Apostolic Ministry implies a belief in the continued existence and continued need of supernatural gifts:—that Christianity is neither a philosophy only, nor a moral system only, nor a change of feeling, sentiment or will, self-caused, and nothing more, but beyond all these, and indeed as the cause and foundation of all of them, first a revelation of supernatural truths which claim, not opinion, but faith; and next a supernatural dealing with the souls of men, whereby they are transformed by God's invisible work and operation, yet through their own will and moral nature, into a new and restored moral being, and are by like spiritual gifts retained in that new being, or replaced in it—a belief in a supernatural relation of truth, and a supernatural gift of spiritual life—a belief in the *grace of God*.

II. But then, secondly, the doctrine in question implies a belief that these gifts of grace are entrusted to a corporate body, and continued in the world by God Himself, and that they are to be obtained ordinarily and primarily by the individual Christian as in union with Christ through His mystical body upon earth, or in other words that the Church of Christ to which Christians must be joined is not a voluntary religious club, or a department of the State for religious purposes,—but that it is a divinely constituted and visible body, the appointed witness of God's revelation, and the appointed channel of God's grace.

III. And then further, the same doctrine implies also a belief that in this Church there is a divinely constituted ministry: that the body corporate called the Church acts ordinarily through an order of men set apart by God's ordinance from their fellow Christians as ministers of the spiritual gifts entrusted to it: stewards of the mysteries of God, to give to each his portion in due season, *i. e.* an order of men who are not simply convenient ministers of material charities, or lecturers on Christian morals, or expounders of a theory of theology, or State officers to maintain a moral police, or again the mere mouth-pieces to make united worship possible, or the self-elected officers of a voluntary religious club, or men with a special education qualifying them as a professional class of religious teachers, or who think themselves called to preach to others, not even simply men sent to proclaim certain truths, but beyond even the last of these men to whom God by His appointed instruments has entrusted certain authority and powers, a message of truth to be delivered, and gifts of grace to be dispensed; *ministers of the Word and Sacraments*.

IV. And this view of the ministerial office leads necessarily to a further step,—a belief in the *grace of orders*, *i. e.* in the necessity and in the spiritual effectiveness of a proper formal ordination.

V. And then we are further limited upon scriptural and historical grounds to a belief that the office of ministering the outward call and appointment, thus rendered necessary, belongs to a special class in the ministry, to whom alone the Apostles gave it, *viz.* Bishops—a belief in Episcopal ordination.

VI. Lastly, if the grace of orders be a grace at all, we are brought in the end to that which is specially intended by Apostolical Succession, *viz.* to a belief that the gift of orders so transmitted by the Bishop, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, must needs have descended in an unbroken line from those who first had it—*viz.* the Apostles."

"It means in few words without Bishops no Presbyters, without Bishops and Presbyters no legitimate certainty of Sacraments, without Sacraments no certain union with Christ, and without that union no Salvation. Yet with these necessary provisions at each step by the very nature of the moral laws, and attributes of Almighty God, *first, if those outward things may be had, and next with every allowance for ignorance, prejudice, and necessity, and lastly and above all, as a system subservient and ministering both to a true faith, and a living religion, and hearty love of Christ in the soul.*"

We confess if these extracts do not express the meaning of the Scripture, and the concurrent views of the Greek, and Latin, and Anglican Fathers, and the signification of our own Prayer-Book, we are utterly unable to understand how plain words can ever make a plain subject comprehensible by plain men.

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY. *Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Edited by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and James Donaldson, LL.D. Vols. XIII and XIV. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. 38 George St. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.*

We have spoken again and again of this noble work, and pointed out its especial value to the Church. The perusal of the Ante-Nicene Fathers produces on the mind an unconscious but most powerful conviction of the truth of her claims. In them we perceive how entirely the Anglican Reformation restored to us the Apostolic Church, and are equally strengthened against sectism, and mediævalism. The simplicity of the earlier writers and even in some instances their credulity does not detract from their testimony in regard to facts where they had every opportunity to observe, and no possible motive to misrepresent. When we reach the time of St. Cyprian, his works have an attractive value for precisely an opposite reason. In his day the entire system of the Church was seen in its perfect practical development, and in himself we behold a remarkable impersonation of its spirit. He is indeed almost a typical Bishop. His natural genius, his legal training, his philosophical culture, his social position, his extensive learning, his brilliant imagination, his fascinating style, his noble charity, his entire devotion, his heroic courage invest his career with interest, and his character with majesty. While he was a man of battle he was also a man of peace; stern towards the sinner he was tender towards the sinner. Finally, martyrdom attested his courage, and like a halo crowned his illustrious career. While his style was always rhetorical, and often ornate, his thoughts were uniformly solid and his sincerity apparent. We know few passages more eloquent than the conclusion of his "Exhortation to Martyrdom."

"The brave and steadfast mind, founded in religious meditation endures; and the spirit abides unmoved against all the terrors of the devil, and the threats of the world, when it is strengthened by the sure and solid faith of things to come. In persecution earth is shut up, but heaven is opened; antichrist is threatening, but Christ is protecting; death is brought in, but immortality follows; the world is taken away from him that is slain, but paradise is set forth to him restored; the life of time is extinguished, but the life of eternity is realized. What dignity it is, and what a security, to gladly go from hence, to depart gloriously in the midst of afflictions and tribulations; in a moment to close the eyes with which men and the world are looked upon, and at once to open them to look upon God and Christ! In persecution, the warfare; in peace, the purity of conscience is crowned."

Besides the Essay on "Martyrdom" from which we have quoted, the thirteenth volume of the Library contains several other treatises and discourses of St. Cyprian, including what he wrote concerning the "Baptism of Heretics," and his description of the "Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas." Then

follow the writings of Novatian, and Dionysius of Alexandria, and Minucius Felix. The fourteenth volume gives us the remains of Methodius; Alexander, Bishop of Lycopolis; Peter, Bishop of Alexandria; Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria; Clement, of Rome; Theognostus of Alexandria; Pierius, of Alexandria; Malchion, a Presbyter of the Church of Antioch; Anatolius, of Alexandria; Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis, and martyr; and Pamphilus, Presbyter of the Church of Cæsarea, and martyr. We append a description of a Garden from the "Banquet of the Virgins," by Methodius, which certainly proves that Theology did not wholly extinguish fancy in the Ancient Fathers.

"The air was diffused in soft and regular currents, mingled with pure beams of light, and a stream flowing as gently as oil through the very middle of the garden, threw up a most delicious drink; and the water flowing from it, transparent and pure, formed itself into fountains, and these overflowing like rivers, watered all the garden with their abundant streams, and there were different kinds of trees there, full of fresh fruits, and the fruits that hung joyfully from their branches were of equal beauty! and there were ever-blooming meadows strewn with variegated and sweet scented flowers from which came a gentle breeze laden with the richest odor. And the Agnus grew near, a lofty tree under which we reposed, from its being exceedingly wide-spreading and shady."

SKETCHES OF CREATION: *A popular view of some of the Grand Conclusions of the Sciences in reference to the History of Matter and of Life. Together with a Statement of the Intimations of Science respecting the Primordial Condition and the ultimate Destiny of the Earth, and of the Solar System.* By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL. D., Professor of Geology, Zoology and Botany in the University of Michigan, and Director of the State Geological Survey. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1870.

We have here a most graphic picture of creation from eternity to eternity. Probably no man has ever been so entirely acquainted with the councils of Heaven as the author. He speaks with the assurance of inspiration, and in a glowing style evincing an imagination rather invigorated than subdued by the stern inductions of Science. We can imagine the youth who crowd his lectures kindling into enthusiastic admiration as they catch from his lips intensifying epithets and brilliant images so entirely in harmony with their own peculiar tastes and ardent impulses. As we read these pictured pages we are comforted to know that God, indeed, "created the heavens and the earth," however patronising the recognition. Then we see the universe a vast mass of igneous matter. The radiations of heat produce rotations. Rolling worlds are generated. Fragments fly off to form revolving satellites. The earth is a globe of fire. Then it becomes water. Each process is described by which its present shape is assumed. The conflagration of our own continent is sketched with especial minuteness. Those dim ages of gigantic vegetations and marvellous monsters pass before us as familiarly as the birds on our lawn, or the trees in our orchard. Subsequent periods of geological history are traced with the same confident skill and unflinching ardor, until earth completes her decreed period by crashing into the sun. It is admitted as doubtful whether the parent will receive his returning child to a bosom of snow or of flame. As the

probabilities here are balanced, perhaps, the Scripture theory of fire may be permitted. It is, however, determined by Scientific deduction with the certainty of inspired prophecy, that before the final catastrophe, the secrets of the world over the grave will be unfolded to those disciples, who, like our author, so carefully pursue the severe processes of investigation marked out by Bacon and Newton. Dr. Winchell says:—

“The unseen world is destined to become like a newly discovered continent. We shall visit it—we shall hold communion with it—we shall wonder how so many thousand years shall have passed without our being introduced to it. We shall learn of other modes of existence—intermediate, perhaps, between body and spirit—having the forms and limitations in space peculiar to matter with the penetrability and irresistibility of spirit.”

Nor must we be astonished that in this age when the telegraph girdles the earth, and the telescope deciphers the moon, and the spectroscope analyzes the sun, Science, transcending prophecy, by her *careful* induction should be able to inform us what precisely will occur in the process of our planet's destruction, at least, in case the ruin should be in ice rather than in fire. With what admirable precision can Geology now speak! How sober its style! How modest its spirit! How marvellous its exactitude! Where ancient Scripture expresses its predictions in unsatisfying generalities, modern Science, surpassing inspiration, gives the most cheering details. We know nothing in the triumphs of Induction more astonishing than the discovery of Dr. Winchell contained in our concluding extract, and can scarcely wonder that the Bible is falling behind the progress of the age, and can only marvel that amid such a blaze of new revelations he should himself cling to the old faith.

“The end arrives, unless some sudden catastrophe sweep the race from being in a day, the time will come when *two* men will only survive of all the human race. *Two* men will look around upon the ruins of the workmanship of a mighty people. *Two* men will gaze upon the tombs of the human family. *Two* men will stand petrified at the sight of, perhaps, a hundred thousand corpses prostrated around them by the dire hardships which every moment threaten to carry them also away. These *two* men will gaze into each other's faces—wan, thin, hungry, despairing. Speech will have deserted them. Silent, gazing each into eternity—more dead than living—an overpowering emotion—an inspiring hope—and one of them drops by the feet of the sole survivor of God's intelligent race. Thrice honored, thrice exalted man! He stands there to testify for all mankind. In what words shall he say farewell? The last man has composed his body to *eternal* rest. This once fair earth is a cold and desolate corpse. Nature's tears are ice—she weeps no more. The face of the sun is veiled. It is midnight in the highways of the planets. The spirits of heaven mourn at the funeral of nature.”

After such inductive achievements we can scarcely doubt that Science, in the due processes of her noble development, will at last inform humanity whether the grief of angelic intelligences over the gloom of a frozen creation will be expressed in white, representing its snow, or in black, emblemizing its darkness. Possibly the last two persons over whom they will mourn, instead of two men, may be two women, or even two children.

THE ANDES AND THE AMAZON: Or, *Across the Continent of South America.* By JAMES ORTON, M. A., Professor of Natural History in Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and Corresponding Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1870.



In a book into whose taking title is crowded the "Andes," the "Amazon," and the breadth of a continent, we must, of course, expect much interesting information and many exciting descriptions. We shall not be disappointed. The person who desires useful knowledge in graphic language should purchase this volume. We will select a description. Our author says:

"The Napo starts off in furious haste, for the fall between Napo's village and Santa Rosa, a distance of eighty miles, is three hundred and fifty feet. The passage of the rapids is dangerous to all but an Indian. As Wallace says of a spot on the Rio Negro, you are bewildered by the conflicting motions of the water; whirling and boiling eddies burst as if from some subaqueous explosion; down-currents are one side of the canoe, and an up-current on the other; now a cross stream at the bows, and a diagonal one at the stern with a foaming Scylla on your right, and a whirling Charybdis on the left."

We venture a request for our own relief and that of others—that the Professor, in a subsequent edition, or in his next lecture to his pupils, or before a meeting of the Academy of Sciences inform the world whether by "foaming Scylla," he intends a fact or a figure.

ART-THOUGHTS. *The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe.* By JAMES JACKSON JARVES, author of "Art-Hints," "Art-Studies," "The Art-Idea," *Honorary member of the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence, Italy, etc., etc.* New York: published by Hurd & Houghton, Cambridge, Riverside Press. 1869.

Perhaps our view may be a dream, and yet we confidently believe that the mission of America in Government, Science, Literature, Art, Religion is to evolve from the past of our world its grandest development in the future. In its youth our nation often needed the encouragement of even excessive laudation. Now in its maturing manhood it is sufficiently vigorous to be benefited by sound and even severe criticism. We think Mr. Jarves undervalues American Art, and yet his sprightly and discriminating strictures will prove rather a blessing than an injury. The vine putting forth its first buds may be destroyed by a rough knife, but when expanded in its healthful growth, and laden with the promise of ripe clusters, faithful pruning gives increased strength. It is, indeed, difficult for a man who has explored the treasures of European art-galleries to avoid the appearance of a self-conscious superiority, and yet Mr. Jarves has a true sympathy with our rising country, and has earned by his industry, ability and observation some title to the magisterial. We can cheerfully commend his volume, except in its theological opinions, believing that as it was honestly prepared it should be honestly received. His conclusion is admirable both in conception and expression.

"In favor of the spread of fine art in America we have a fresh æsthetic constitution and temperament; the increasing passion of decoration, ornaments and festivals; a keen, native instinct for color and form; the patriotic desire to commemorate public men and events; a vast wealth each year more liberally given to beneficent purposes by living benefactors; increasing means of culture; a juster appreciation of national defects and deficiencies in Art; an intenser spiritual apprehension of life, arising from the various religious agitations as an offset to the redundant realism founded on rapid, material progress; and above all the growing recognition of humanity at large as the true object of effort to make the earth more pleasant for man's temporary abode while school-



ing for a higher existence. The passion of the Greek for beauty made his Art beautiful, just as the emotional fervor of the mediævalist made his spiritual. We are not called to repeat either Minervas, Venuses, Queens of Heaven, or any of the effete forms of effete mythologies, but to create anew according to more advanced notions of heroisms, celestial or mundane—each after its kind in Art, realism or the 'glory of the terrestrial,' as St. Paul defines the idealisms of earth, and 'the glory of the celestial,' those of Heaven. 'As we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' The artist should beware of confounding the spiritual in Art with the realistic. Both are legitimate phases. The American school will be born of our own material and spiritual life, our own faith in, and sacrifices for, humanity, and of those profound social, political and religious connections that make up a religion of the heart whose fruit shall be the divinely announced, 'Peace and Good-will' of Bethlehem."

OUR NEW VICAR. By REV. J. S. B. MONSELL, LL. D., *Rural Dean and Vicar, of Engham. Fourth edition. London: Bell & Daldy. New York: Pott & Amery. 1870.*

In our young and vigorous Republic the Church needs men who, with piety and courage, unite both tact and courage. Each Clergyman should seek to catch and personify our ecclesiastical genius, and make it a living, working, triumphing fact in his parish. From within and without he will experience opposition. Now we know no volume where he will find more practical suggestions than in this unpretending book of Dr. Monsell. He has developed that conception of the Church which will yet govern the world. We sincerely wish his beautiful and valuable chapter on "Sisterhoods" had been read before certain unpleasant events had occurred in our own metropolis. Let us hope there is not an American Clergyman who will not peruse his book, and not an American Parish which will not secure it for the benefit of both young and old.

THE CHURCH IDEA. *An Essay towards Unity. By WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, Rector of All Saints', Worcester. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 713 Broadway. 1870.*

This is a calm, thoughtful, scholarly and yet popular volume—well-intended, well-conceived and well-expressed. It presents Romanism as an exaggeration, Puritanism as a diminution, and Liberalism as a distortion of the Church Idea. The author's views in regard to the "American Problem," are exceedingly suggestive. We cannot agree with the opinion that the Apostles' Creed, whose origin is uncertain, should ever, in regard to Laity or Clergy, have any preference over the Nicene Creed, authenticated by an Œcumenical Council. Nor can we sanction the suggestions of Mr. Huntington in regard to our Liturgy. Any relaxation in the universality of its use will impair our connection with the past of the Catholic Church, and disturb that uniformity of worship we justly regard as our boast and glory. While we do not think that his "Church Idea" embraces the full conception of our Church spirit and our Church history, yet we believe that its author has performed a valuable service, and his work deserves to be purchased and to be pondered.

JOHN PLOUGHMAN'S TALK: OR PLAIN ADVICE FOR PLAIN PEOPLE. By C. H. SPURGEON. *New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.*

Mr. Spurgeon in his prayers, sermons and conversations is still Mr. Spurgeon. His peculiarities are, of course, more apparent when he speaks as a Ploughman

than when he speaks as a Preacher. We have in this volume the man seen when removed from those few remaining conventionalisms which even yet restrict Mr. Spurgeon in the pulpit. His other works have always their coarseness relieved by many brilliant original thoughts and passages of truthful eloquence, bursting from a man whose genius we never question, even where we doubt his taste, or his culture. In "John Ploughman" there is no such grateful variety. But there are numerous instances of shrewd observation, keen wit, and telling expression. The book exhibits more talent than reverence, and more truth than beauty.

ANCIENT STATES AND EMPIRES, FOR COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS. *By John Lord, LL.D. Author of the "Old Roman World," "Modern History," Etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Svo. pp. 645.*

Besides the usefulness of this work in Colleges and Schools, for which it was designed, and for which we think it is well adapted, we predict for it a welcome reception among a large number of educated and general readers. Every intelligent person needs a work just like this. The great names and the great facts of Ancient History are all the while recurring, and a volume like the one before us, containing most of the salient points of that history, clearly stated, is almost as indispensable as a Dictionary. The volume is divided into three books, as follows: Book I. The Ancient Oriental Nations. Book II. The Grecian States. Book III. The Roman Empire. The work is necessarily summary; its style is compact, clear and incisive, and, notwithstanding the severity of criticism to which it has been exposed, we think it usually reliable.

CHAMBERS' ENCYCLOPEDIA: *A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People, on the basis of the latest editions of the German Conversations-Lexicon. Illustrated by Wood Engravings and Maps. Vol. X. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1869. Svo. pp. 821.*

It is now about ten years since the Messrs. Chambers issued the first volume of their Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. Their first plan was to translate the celebrated German work, the *Conversations-Lexicon*, which was so popular, that it has passed through ten or more editions. But they soon abandoned that idea. The work was too German, too one-sided; too much given to German mysticism and abstractions. It was not practical, and neglected too much the latest discoveries of Modern Science and the developments in the Useful Arts. The Messrs. Chambers were just the men to utilize the German work, and to do this in the most thorough and successful manner. Taking the *Conversations-Lexicon* as the basis, they have issued an entirely new work, which, after some examination and comparison we do not hesitate to pronounce the best popular Encyclopædia in the English language. More than one hundred different writers have been employed upon it. It extends to eight thousand three hundred and twenty pages, and contains upwards of twenty-seven thousand distinct articles. It is particularly rich in Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Philosophy, Ancient and Modern and Oriental; the Fine Arts, Biography, Geography, Religious Beliefs, etc., etc. Besides the profuse Illustrations, which are scattered freely

throughout the work, the publishers have also issued, as a supplementary volume, an Atlas, containing a series of *thirty-nine* colored Maps, and also a Map of the Annual Revolution of the Earth round the Sun. There is so much downright infidelity, communism and sciolism in some of our modern Cyclopædias, that we are glad to welcome a work in this respect so unexceptionable, and in every regard so satisfactory.

THE ROMANCE OF SPANISH HISTORY. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT, *author of "The French Revolution," etc., etc. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1869.*

Spain, in the minds of all who love antiquity, has a rare lineage and heraldry. The land itself, surrounded by seas which from the beginning were the highways of the most ancient commerce, and traversed by mountain ranges which give variety of climate and landscape, has never lacked a certain singular and ever changing life and beauty. But it is the story of human weal and woe which has given Spain such a tragic interest and pathos. In its peninsula, as a stage, some of the most shadowy and solemn events as well as the most illustrious and magnificent have proceeded to fill one with awe or pleasure. It is the land of the Carthaginian, the Goth, the Moor, of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Columbus, Cortez and Pizarro, of the Cid and Cervantes and of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. Above all it has been the land of wars. From the Siege of Saguntum, where a whole city perished, the women and children seated on a vast funeral pyre and consumed to ashes, while the men sold dearly their lives on the edge of the Carthaginian sword, to the Siege of Saragossa, there is no realm more famed for the bloody fury and sublimity of war than Spain. Such is the material which Mr. Abbott found at hand when he made "The Romance of Spanish History" into a book, evidently written for young persons and grown folks who wish to be instructed without the labor of thinking, and neither lacking in romance nor possessing the maximum of history. Occasionally approaching eloquence, sometimes pathos, always interesting with its very intelligible manner and matter, and level to the common moods of not uncommon minds, it never reaches the height of artistic work, but contrariwise, shows how thin the currents of our popular writings. For Mr. Abbott is popular, and as a historian, unreliable in a very marked degree. Declining to make himself the master, as every true artist and teacher does, he becomes the literary serf and workman of that dominant public, to whose taste he skillfully caters. It is a path which gives a man more money than fame. We do not intend in this notice to judge Mr. Abbott's handicraft by the high standard of true art; but when we turn from reading Irving's delightful pages or Prescott's judicious and finely balanced historic passages and judgments, touching this same venerable and romantic Spain, or lay down Napier's military history of the Peninsular War, and peruse Mr. Abbott's romance, we feel as though we had left a gallery of antique and noble statues to enter the shop of some very common potter. The critic of to-day has often a singular task in reviewing books, valuable to the public, as *it* counts values, and yet, as judged in the forum of literary merit, of inferior worth.

LOST IN THE JUNGLE. *Narrated for young people, by Paul Du Chaillu, Author of Discoveries in Africa, &c. With numerous engravings. New York, Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1870.*

It may be perhaps questioned how far books filled with adventures in killing gorillas have a healthy influence on the young. Certainly no novels are more eagerly read, and these pages of Du Chaillu can scarcely be excelled either in vivacious description, or daring exploits.

OLD TESTAMENT SHADOWS OF NEW TESTAMENT TRUTHS. *By LYMAN ABBOTT, Author of Jesus of Nazareth, &c. With designs by Dorè, Delaroche, Durham, and Parsons. New York, Harper and Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1870.*

The aim of this volume is stated in the Preface.

"The Old Testament is more full of parables than the New. Its history is prophetic. Its stories are parables in real life. The Chronicles of Israel are full of God's fore-shadowings of the redemption of the world. From the fall in Eden to the restoration of the Jews under Ezra, they are, all along the way, finger posts that point to the Cross of Christ. Their inscriptions are sometimes so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. They are sometimes so obscured that the heedless traveler notes them not. These finger posts I seek to decipher; these parables to interpret. The light that shines from the Old Testament is that of the star of Bethlehem, which conducts the reader to the manger of his incarnate Lord. That star I seek to follow."

With this plan the book contains fourteen papers, chapters or lectures, whatever they may be called, on as many dramatic events in Old Testament history, beginning with the Cities of the plain, and ending with the Queen's Crown, which turns out to be Mr. Abbott's annotated story of Queen Esther. The book is elegantly prepared, and the Illustrations are well selected, yet the work seems to us to be of that superficial and diluted learning, which suits the great public palate in this age.

WILD SPORTS OF THE WORLD: A BOOK OF NATURAL HISTORY AND ADVENTURE. *By James Greenwood & Co. With one hundred and forty-seven Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1870.*

Every page of this book we confess to have read with a child's eagerness and satisfaction, and we never expect to be so old as not to enjoy a work like this with a profound delight. In the midst of a masculine household of young folk we have managed to secure the privilege, often challenged or interrupted, of perusal in our study, in spite of a crowd of eager aspirants for its favor and flavor. Men have hunted from the time of Nimrod, and before, but we doubt whether Nimrod ever pursued so many or so redoubtable beasts as any reader of this book easily may, if he will only follow our charming author to his very diversified and thrilling chase in the green woods. This book is a compendium of the hunt, on that side of it which relates to the ways and homes of the brutes followed, and the luck which famous hunters have met in their wild and reckless pastime. Titbits of hunting lore out of Gordon Cummings, and men like him, have a very savory taste to the minds of those who favor a breakneck dash after buffalo or fox, or think they would like to crawl on

hands and knees, or under the broad and brown striped leaves of the India jungle, where the tawny tiger skulks away to his lair, with his mouth yet red from the goat he lately confiscated by the roadside, or from a far ghastlier dinner which he has made on some poor Asiatic villager or traveler. And that there is in most men and boys with blood in their veins a taste for the hunt, few will deny. There is something which moves us to an eager interest, when in a comfortable parlor we read of our modern Nimrods standing before a lion or an elephant, with only a slender iron tube between the man and death. And then to see that man alone with steady nerve hold in his hand the weight and majesty of modern civilization as it embodies itself in the rifle, and conquer down at his feet giant beasts, his masters in all forces except that wit which makes him a Nineteenth century hunter, is what fills us with a certain pride in the race to which we belong. God hath put in subjection all things under man's feet, and heavy rifles keep them there. Men like Gerard, "the Lion Killer," or Cummings, have killed more and larger game in one week than all the Nimrods and Hercules of the ancient world in a twelve-month.

This book especially where it undertakes to teach natural history is not exhaustive. But it is fresh, vivacious, exciting, with the best of the late hunting feats gathered into its story, and is capital for brave wonder-loving boys. We do not remember to have seen better wood cuts in an American volume of this order. Its pages are a realm of bears, tigers, lions, hippopotami, wolves, alligators, elephants, walruses, and a host of wild animals. The article on the Chamois of the Alps has struck us as among the most fresh and novel.

*THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.* By Amos Dean, LL.D. In seven volumes. Vol. VII. Albany, N. Y., Joel Munsell, 1869.

This volume treats of European Art in eight divisions—Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Poetry, Eloquence, The Drama, The Military Art. Of course in so wide a field one can only glean into a volume some of the wheat, and leave the rest on the ground. In preceding numbers of this Review, we have passed judgment on the general traits of this in some respects remarkable book. It is remarkable for its learning, its patient research, its judicial temper, its kindly discussion of vexed questions, and above all for not containing one sentiment (so far as we have remarked) which can offend the religion of a Christian. We suspect that its publication is meant to rear a monument among men to the memory of a good and learned man; and such it certainly is. Below men like Buckle and Hallam in intellectual altitude and singularly wanting in subtle, philosophical analysis touching the heart of things, yet few Americans have done more patient and stalwart literary work than Professor Dean. The value of this volume consists in its furnishing a cue by which the young scholar may investigate the modern artistic developments of Western Christendom. In the division of Architecture, the Professor shows a surprising knowledge of the details of his subject, and touches briefly on most of the vital points in its discussion. Other topics like Poetry and Eloquence are treated in a mere sketchy and superficial manner. The book is not exhaustive but encyclopedic, broad not deep. It is certainly a rich storehouse of the history of the world.

HISTORY OF JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF NAPLES AND OF ITALY. By John S. C. Abbott, Author of the *History of Napoleon Bonaparte, &c., &c.* New York, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1870.

This is another book of Mr. Abbott's, and a so called-history of one of the Bonapartes. He has already acquired a not altogether enviable reputation as the biographer of Bonaparte the great. With that achievement or any other of his in the historical line we trouble ourselves no farther than to declare that all such writers have the most meagre claims to the great name of historians. In the society where this criticism, if it be just, places him, Mr. Abbott has a multitude of confederates against historical accuracy and justice. For to any man moderately versed in facts, who still entertains the very old and somewhat antiquated idea that there is nothing better in men or books than simple honest truth, some modern history writers are very suspicious and delusive and partisan novelists whose invention is their most conspicuous virtue.

Mr. Abbott is a busy, buzzing, bright writer among a crowd that often overtop him by their intellect and learning: and his literary virtues are at least marketable in an age which delights in fiction. Without doubt Joseph Bonaparte, the hero of the present writing, was an amiable, philosophic, modest, meek man, who was lifted by the strong military arm of his great brother into thrones which he never filled, and over people he never controlled. King of Naples and then of Spain, he neither crushed the lazzaroni who stabbed and blew up houses where women and children slept, nor governed the treacherous and superstitious Spaniards, who greeted him to-day with vivas in all their cities, and to-morrow left him friendless in all their land. Lacking all talent for kingcraft he floated where the tide bore him, and in latter life enjoyed that retirement for which he was alone fitted.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISMS. By JOHN HUMPHREY NOYES. J. B. LIPPINCOTT. Phila. Royal 8vo., pp. 678.

There has scarcely been a time, when men have not been ready to forsake those institutions which God established for our happiness and guidance, and to attempt something more flattering to pride and self-love. They have but to question the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and to renounce the binding obligations of the Christian Religion: and then the way is open for any human scheme. But the attempt has invariably been followed by early failure. The epitaph is soon written, which tells a story more or less brief of folly, and the utter inefficacy of those institutions which are intended to supersede Divine ordinances.

Our opinions are fully demonstrated in "The History of American Socialisms." This work gives an account of forty or fifty organizations. But the experiments have been made mostly under the leadership of Robert Owen and his followers, and of Fourier, imitated by such men as Charles Brisbane, Horace Greeley, and Charles A. Dana. Robert Owen was a Scotch manufacturer, and came to this country in 1824 to test his principles of Socialism. He openly acknowledged his infidelity; and, although he reached our Republic with the reputation of a Reformer, it is perhaps no matter for surprise that in three years his enterprise should be pronounced to be *in articulo mortis*.



The Fourier epoch may be marked by the community at Brook Farm, in West Roxbury, Mass. This association originated in 1841. It was our pleasure to make a visit in 1846. While there were neatness, and good order, and apparent comfort and happiness, we could not fail to notice an aimless purpose, and that the bulwarks of the family were leveled; and it did not surprise us, that in the next year Fourierism became a forlorn hope in this country, and that an inquest was soon called for all its communities. So will it ever be with those who "hew out for themselves broken cisterns."

We commend this Book to those who are interested in the post-mortem examinations of Socialism. It will serve as a guide in all future experiments. It will show how enthusiasts have erred, and how the sanguine have been disappointed. It will illustrate the dear-bought experience of many social adventurers. It will give an idea of the labor of mind and body expended to realize an Utopia by turning the back on the real Gardens of Paradise.

This volume is neatly printed on tinted paper, by that very enterprising publisher, J. B. Lippincott, of Philadelphia, who has also a branch for the sale of his publications in Broome street of this city.

**AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY:** Including Strictures on the Management of the Currency and the Finances since 1861, &c. By FRANCIS BEVEN. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co. 1870.

Professor Beven is known to Harvard students for perhaps the last twenty years as one of the hardest and clearest-headed thinkers in that ancient University. In this Book he has discussed with learning and acumen those economical laws of natural wealth which control the visible and social activities of a nation. His work is full of interest to the Statesman, and the Clergyman will find in its pages much food for those religious meditations with which he instructs his people. We commend it as a unique and serviceable hand-book on the matters discussed.

**A GERMAN COURSE:** Adapted to use in Colleges, High Schools and Academies. By GEORGE F. COMFORT, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages and Æsthetics in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1870.

This manual, well printed, thorough and progressive, is another proof of the advance of American Scholarship in presenting the mysteries of a very rich and intricate language to the American mind which to-day confronts the ancient German civilization on American soil. It seems admirably adapted to its work.

**CREATION A RECENT WORK OF GOD.** By the Rector of St. Mary's Church, New York. New York: POTT & AMERY. Cooper Union. 1870.

Geology and Revelation do not and cannot contradict each other, since the Works of God cannot be contrary to His Word. So-called Geology and human interpretations of Holy Writ are in these days often at bitter war. Christian men like Hugh Miller have tried to adjust Science and Scripture, and have, in our judgment, as yet made no great gains for either. The time is not yet, and the man has not come who can say of this earth, "I know it," or of Genesis, "I comprehend it." This Book, written with much earnestness and a laudable intention, will hardly succeed in removing the ancient altercation of savans and theologians, and we fear we must wait still longer for the coming of peace.



IN SPAIN AND A VISIT TO PORTUGAL. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. HURD & HOUGHTON, Astor Place, N. Y., 1870.

Hans Andersen is too well known among young and old to need much comment. His exquisite stories, either of fairy land or every-day life, are the delight of every heart.

The present book of travel is most gracefully and charmingly written, and when we turn the last leaf, we feel as if a tear would almost rise at parting with our genial, kind-hearted traveling companion.

Of all the old historic lands, Spain possesses the most thorough romance. Provence with her troubadors—the wandering minstrels of “Old Englands”—the wonderful dwellers of the Hartz mountains, are but shadows to the deeds of the Cid, and the pranks of Don Quixote.

We are apt in the present desolation of Spain to forget its past glory. Our traveler finds somewhat of interest in every spot he visits. He gives one most attractive pictures and amusing scenes among people that are represented to us the very epitomes of squalor and filth. Seville of all Spanish cities seems to have the most charm. Its picture gallery, its Murillos, its luscious fruits and dark-eyed beauties, make it interesting even as compared with any city in sunny Italy.

We tread the Alhambra with our friend, and think we see those old Moorish knights and dreaming Sultanas in its marble halls; would fain rest ourselves by those rippling fountains, soothed by the intoxicating perfumes of Oriental flowers, and awake to find ourselves among the ashes of past days. Washington Irving finds only ruins, and can only give his book interest by recalling old scenes. Hans Andersen makes Spain most interesting even at the present time. Spite of its poverty and fleas, the travel is comfortable, the food good, the people enjoyable; and one feels as if he would willingly forego the worn-out tour of the continent for a sojourn in this fascinating peninsula.

IMMORTALITY. Four Sermons Preached before the University of Cambridge. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1868. By J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, B. D., &c. New York: ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & COMPANY, 770 Broadway. 1870.

Four weighty, matured, and thorough prelections on one of the most solemn themes that from age to age challenge the meditation of the thoughtful. Elsewhere the matter has been more widely investigated, but here there is food and comfort for the religious mind strengthened by these sermons as to its Faith in Immortality.

THE BAZAR BOOK OF DECORUM. The Care of the Person, Manners, Etiquette and Ceremonials. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS, Publishers, Franklin Square. 1870.

It would be difficult to say exactly what American manners at present are, and good instruction therein is much needed. We therefore hail with pleasure any new attempt to improve the fashions of our social intercourse, since good manners and good morals are more closely allied than many imagine. This Book has a way of its own, and with a good modicum of learning, philosophy and common sense, gives much advice which may be profitably followed. Nobody can be worse in manner for reading it. It is in parts amusing.

HAYDN AND OTHER POEMS. By the author of "Life Below." New York. Published by HURD & HOUGHTON. Cambridge. Riverside Press. 1870.

Poems are every author's pet children; and as it is the last insult to a mother to depreciate her offspring, so it sometimes seems to a tender-hearted critic cruelly to condemn a man's verses. Besides, verses are written for diverse objects—for fame, for friends, for money. We have tried to solve the problem, but are forced to say we cannot understand why these were ever printed.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE DEATH OF WOLSEY TO THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA. By James Anthony Froude, M. A. *Reign of Elizabeth.*

To radically change the fixed historic opinions of a race touching very vital questions of its own history, is a rare and difficult achievement for any man. Yet James Anthony Froude has done this with regard to the age and chief functionaries of the English Reformation, and has rewritten the story of the spiritual struggles of a great nationality, not only with spirit and elegance, but above all, with a pen that probes close to the heart of the matter. To say that he has not always touched the heart itself, and especially in spiritual things, is merely to remind our readers that Froude is mortal. For while we confess that he has sometimes proved his point against us as unwilling Churchmen when he discloses the low and sordid ways of Church dignitaries and peels the crown a little too often on non-Conforming or at least non Churchly heads, the point where he shows his cardinal weakness, is his inability to grasp the idea of an outward historical Church pervaded inwardly by supernatural graces beyond our measurement which remain through all time unwasting fountains of power, yet outwardly colored and soiled by mortal taint and imperfection. Until Froude's time no history of our Reformation, rightly so called, had ever been written. For Hallam's stately disquisition on Constitutional Law, though judicial beyond any other, and cold and pure as an iceberg, shows a singular inability to grasp the inner secrets of our great ecclesiastical movement, while Hume, et id omne genus, are fancy-portrait and landscape painters, who are never vexed or moved by facts from their wishes. Froude on the contrary is a master builder who constructs the temple of these times out of the moss-grown or soil-covered stones scattered and cast down by time from the building, as it once was. Wherever he cannot recover a keystone or an arch, led away from his search, he has the wit to shape others very like the old. It is only where he comes to decipher the subtle and esoteric meanings of the temple, like those of time and space which explorers tell us are written in the Great Pyramids of Egypt, that he shows signs of narrowness and weakness. His work is a noble monument of real industry and historic lore, and is a new and rich possession for the English speaking race.